The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXIV NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 1922 No. 2969

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 635

EDITORIALS:
- Unions and the Golden Rule 638
- Child Labor and the Constitution 638
- Our "Moral Obligation" in Liberia 639
- The Maiden Names of Presidents 640

GENOA: DANCING ON A VOLCANO. By Oswald Garrison Villard 641

THESE UNITED STATES—IV. VERMONT: OUR RICH LITTLE POOR STATE. By Dorothy Canfield Fisher 643

NICARAGUA. By John Kenneth Turner 646

IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 648

CORRESPONDENCE 649

BOOKS:
- The Folly of the Wise. By B. U. Burke 650
- Easy Essays. By Herbert S. Gorman 651
- The Period of Transition. By David Saville Muzzey 651
- Globes. By Preserved Smith 652
- The Comely Life. By J. W. Krutch 653

DRAMA:
- The Generations. By Ludwig Lewisohn 654

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
- That $5,000,000 Loan to Liberia 657

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, EDITOR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

LEWIS S. GANNETT FREDA KIRCHWEY
ARTHUR WARNER LUDWIG LEWISOHN
NORMAN THOMAS

ERNEST H. GRUENING, MANAGING EDITOR
CARL VAN DOREN, LITERARY EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN A. HOBSON ANATOLE FRANCE H. L. MENCKEN
FRIEDRICH WILHELM FOERSTER ROBERT HERRICK

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agent for Subscriptions and Advertising: Ernest Thurtle, 36 Temple, Fortune Hill, N. W. 4, England.

GIFFORD PINCHOT'S victory in the Republican primaries in Pennsylvania, following Beveridge's victory in Indiana, is an omen of better things still to come. However loyal Mr. Pinchot may declare himself to the national leader of his party he represents other tendencies in American life. He battled at Armageddon for God and Teddy Roosevelt when Mr. Harding was greasing the wheels of the Old Guard machine; he is not afraid of taking up the cudgels for the right though all the powers that be oppose him. When the stolid Republicans of Pennsylvania revolt against the regular candidate and put Pinchot in his place we feel like cheering; it means that the people are waking up. Yet, just as we did not share Mr. Pinchot's faith in the Progressive Party in 1912, so we cannot feel that the election of good men of the Pinchot type is enough to meet America's needs today. Mr. Pinchot is fearless and honest; but he is going to be governor of a State where the influence of the coal and steel barons is as subtle as it is universal. Will he, for instance, understand the meaninglessness of the free-speech clause of the State constitution in the iron and steel towns, and will he see the fundamental importance of the restoration of civil liberty in his State? Will he catch the significance of the nickname of the State Constabulary—"Cossacks"—which cruelly serves the steel and coal lords in the name of the State? His campaign gave little hint of any such realization. More than honesty is needed in these days; the best men in the world are futile if they do not bring to politics an understanding of the fundamental economic struggle.

ONE thing the campaigns of Pinchot and Beveridge do show: that the fight for the primary system was not wholly in vain. Disappointing enough the system has been. It is no panacea for politics; the fundamental difficulties of democracy remain. But under the old party convention system neither Pinchot nor Beveridge would have had a chance. Their dramatic success has called attention to the possibilities of the system at a time when it sorely needed such help. In Maine, in Minnesota, in New York, a movement is on to get rid of it; party bosses seem to feel that the political apathy is sufficient to permit them to do away with even the slightest checks upon their power. The primary system has added to the cost of political campaigns, but it has brought nominations into the open and that, when the people are awake, is a gain worth conserving.

SENATOR PEPPER'S victory in the Pennsylvania primaries was achieved on a frankly anti-bonus platform and in spite of an out-and-out fight on him by the American Legion. Working as the Veteran and Civic League of Pennsylvania, the Legion made the State resound with its attacks. "Pepper has insulted the veteran and his family and is strongly opposed to the bonus bill," was one of the arguments. "The way to help ourselves is to put a man in the Senate who will look after our interests." But the people of Pennsylvania apparently considered their own interests superior to those of the Legion, as have voters elsewhere in a number of recent contests. Reviewing some of these, Louis Seibold notes in the New York *Herald* that two candidates for the United States Senate and seven for the House who favored the bonus have been defeated. "Mr. New [in Indiana] and Mr. Burke [Senator Pepper's opponent] were strong advocates of the bonus. Congressman McFadden of the Fourteenth Pennsylvania District, who voted against the bonus, was renominated by an increased majority." Our lawmakers may find that their attempt to buy reelection with money from the public's pocket is less popular than they had supposed.

GOOD dinners have been known to soften hard hearts. And when to a good dinner was added the persuasive eloquence of President Harding and Mr. Hoover we do not doubt that the hearts of steel men and railway executives were touched. But will sentiment result in action to end the disgraceful twelve-hour day in the steel mills and reduce railroad rates? The non-union mine owners being too numerous to dine, Mr. Hoover is dealing with them through conference with good hope of persuading them to agree to regulate prices so as to check profiteering. But neither by persuasion nor by power has the Administration taken any step to deal with the coal strike itself or with the great underlying issues involved in it. We respect the appeal to benevolence or to conscience, but something more is necessary if society is to deal competently with its industrial overlords. The old principle that competition gives protection has no meaning for labor and little meaning for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the consumers. The Government does not, probably cannot, enforce the Anti-Trust Act. In the case of the coal owners, competition among buyers is now so keen that the only way to keep prices down is by agreement. And it is hard to have agreements to keep prices down without permitting agreements to keep prices up. The next step may be a Federal trade commission with power to license and regulate trade associations, as Mr. Untermyer has suggested. The ultimate cure will require a far more drastic attack on the power of those who by special privilege, the possession of natural resources or the control of public utilities, are the real rulers of society.

SENATOR McCUMBER is sure that the importers and retail merchants are responsible for public apathy or hostility to the blessings of his new tariff bill. Our old friend, the *American Economist*, goes deeper. It is "the international bankers" who are to blame. These men are not interested in the struggling manufacturer but only in what they can make out of foreign trade. They hold "the stocks and bonds of manufacturing plants in various countries in Europe." One international bank owns some twenty Cuban sugar plantations. "It is easy to see that the officials and stockholders of that bank are much more interested in having a low tariff on Cuban sugar than they are in protecting the sugar-beet and cane industry of the United States." There is, of course, truth in what the *Economist* says, but it by no means follows that the American people ought to tax themselves for the benefit of domestic manufacturers because "international bankers" might profit by lower duties. The real danger of the present situation is not free trade in goods but the deliberate exportation of capital to countries where it is easy to exploit labor. That is a source of unfair trade rivalry and even of war itself. The logic of the *American Economist's* position would require a tax to check the export of capital rather than the import of goods. The true root of the evil lies deep in the nature of our acquisitive society.

IN other columns of this issue of *The Nation* we expose the agreement signed by Mr. Hughes imposing colonial status upon the African republic of Liberia under the camouflage of a friendly "loan." In this issue also Mr. J. K. Turner makes a preliminary exposé of the manner in which we have used American troops to maintain the rule of a group of New York bankers in Nicaragua; we shall have more to say about this later. We shall have occasion also to expose the extraordinary interest taken by our Government in the recent revolution in Guatemala which put an end, for the present at least, to hope of a federation of the Central American republics; and we shall report the agreements with other bankers being made by the new regime. The record of the Hughes administration in these matters is on a par with the malodorous "dollar diplomacy" of the Knox era; but Mr. Knox, unlike Mr. Hughes, had the frankness to publish the documents regarding his policies and did not hide them under talk of "moral obligation." With the slogan of "restoring law and order" Mr. Knox forced Nicaragua, Mr. Lansing Haiti and Santo Domingo, and Mr. Hughes is forcing Guatemala and Liberia into colonial servitude under the rule of American bankers. These things will not down; they are making the reputation of America around the world.

OUR Government is pressing on unwilling Haiti a $40,000,000 bankers' loan. Brigadier General John H. Russell, American High Commissioner without advice and consent of the Senate, is putting on the pressure. His letter to the Haitian Minister of Foreign Affairs, published in *Le Moniteur*, the government organ, for May 10, says:

> With regard to the suggestion contained in Your Excellency's note of January 31, 1922, which I had the honor to transmit by telegraph to my Government, to the effect that in its note of December 30 last the Haitian Government demonstrated that without new taxes the loan offer submitted by Messrs. Lee, Higginson and Company, *if accepted, would cause the Haitian Government to be confronted by an annual deficit of $1,000,000*, I am instructed by my Government to state that it continues, as at all times in the past, *willing to assist the Haitian Government in the matter of drafting laws, imposing new taxes*, and in improving the collection of taxes. . . . [Italics ours.]

Are there not enough men of conscience in the Senate of the United States to stop this outrageous loan?

POINCARE plays Shylock. He will have his pound of flesh. He may discover, as Shylock did, that it is dangerous to insist on the letter of the law in defiance of its spirit. He declares that the Treaty of Versailles gives France the right to invade Germany even without the approval of her Allies, if the Germans default. Article 18 of Annex II, Part VIII of the Treaty says:

> The measures which the Allied and Associated Powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals *and in general such other measures* as the *respective* governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances. [Italics ours.]

Of course "such other measures" was not intended to mean the movement of armies, but the words are vague enough to mean anything. Poincaré claims that the word "respective" clearly indicates the right of the governments to act individually. Lawyer-like he argues the letter of a single phrase. The first phrase of the same article, the whole tenor of the treaty, is against him. No matter: the word is in the bond; he will have his pound of flesh. He may convince himself; he cannot convince the world by such sophistry. If he sticks to his interpretation and gives the order for French troops, white and black, to cross the Rhine, he will bring down upon France the common hatred of the world. The pound of flesh will be cut from the heart of his own country.

MR. ARCHIBALD E. STEVENSON is in a fair way to discover that 1922 is not 1919. He and his fellow witch-hunters of the extra-legal Advisory Council on the patriotism of the New York public school teachers have not been greeted with any applause whatsoever from the public. Mr. Graves, the Commissioner of Education, has felt obliged to explain at some length and with considerable emphasis that the Council has no real power, that all teachers' rights will be scrupulously respected by him, and that, anyway, not he but the Teachers' Council is primarily responsible for the appointment of about the most obviously unfit group of advisers that could be gathered together in all New York City. Meanwhile the representative character of the Teachers' Council is under fire not only from the Teachers' Union but from other teachers. Its constitution provides only indirect representation of the teachers and gives room for much political manipulation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Last, but not least, Mr. Hugh Frayne of the American Federation of Labor will have to explain to New York labor why he became an ally of Mr. Stevenson, getting evidence through spies and otherwise to use under the Lusk law which labor has consistently condemned. The creation of this Advisory Council, which seemed a while ago to measure the depth of degradation to which our educational system had fallen, may prove instead the one thing needed finally to discredit Luskism in the public mind.

ONLY events can show the significance and value of the "agreed election" and "coalition ministry" which form the basis of the agreement between Republicans and Free State advocates in Ireland. It does end the immediate menace of civil war but it does not settle the treaty, nor is it clear that it will give the people a fair opportunity to pass on it. Undoubtedly a principal factor in obtaining consent to the agreement was the desire of both factions that South Ireland might be united in dealing with the Ulster situation. It is fairly evident that the Catholics and nationalists of Ulster are now receiving unofficial but organized help from the South in their struggle against those arch pogrom-makers, the "Ulster specials," a body created and supported by the British Cabinet out of Carson's army. In this crisis Mr. George may have his final opportunity to save the peace he almost made in Ireland. If he so desires he may still be able to compel the puppet Government in Belfast to end the Ulster pogroms, thereby removing the chief justification for militarism in South Ireland. The Sinn Fein organization would, we think, cooperate in putting down murder. Mr. Griffith has deplored the assassination of Mr. Twaddell of the Ulster Parliament. But if Mr. George gives his support to the Orange fanatics all hope is gone. New terror will take the place of the constructive achievements for which we have looked—so far in vain—from Ireland. Bad as the situation is, there is still the possibility that the united insistence of Christian churches that their religion be not degraded to purposes of partisan war and sectarian slaughter may yet avert the final calamity of a war rivaling in horror the religious struggles of the sixteenth century.

MERE bigness, like mere expensiveness, is not necessarily a proof of worth, and happily Americans are not making the ado about these characteristics nowadays that they did once. Yet in a ship mere size has a certain significance. It is not simply a question of putting in more material, of extending this dimension and that by so many feet. With every added ton come new problems in propulsion and navigation on the high seas, in piloting and docking at the journey's end. The Great Eastern was too big for her time; she has been a warning to later comers not to outbuild the circumstances of their day. Thus every successful "biggest steamship" marks an advance in our adaptation to the sea. Just that—our adaptation to, not our conquest of, the sea. For we are no nearer conquest than when Noah launched his Ark or Hudson's Half Moon initiated the Europe-New York service. The Majestic, built as the Bismarck by the Germans and turned over to England as a result of the war, now displaces the Leviathan as the world's greatest vessel. The maiden voyage to this country of the new White Star liner gives us a legitimate thrill. Of 56,000 gross tons, and with a promenade deck four laps of which give one a mile walk, she is a fresh and genuine wonder of the world. Well named Majestic indeed; and a happy reminder of the company's older ship of that name which in 1891 first clipped the transatlantic record below six days and made London famous as a suburb of New York.

PROHIBITION and patriotism go, sometimes, hand in hand. For instance, think what help to preparedness it is that airplanes dart perpetually back and forth across the country in the high lanes of the wind and sun with forbidden liquor in their holds! Now and then a plane falls rather too conspicuously, but for the most part the aeronauts keep their own counsel and do their duty in the most stoic fashion. The Canadian border knows their light shadows, and the boundaries of all the States. From town to town they take their gala cargoes, carrying surplus gallons to superfluous thirsts, their motto "Making moonshine while the sun shines." If they seem to be doing a certain violence to the law, still they are keeping alive a craft, so that if China or Guatemala or Switzerland invades us by the air, we shall be ready. As a constructive measure we propose that the Rules for Rum-Runners be more carefully codified by the Association of Aerial Bootleggers and prizes offered for aces of both amateur and professional standing.

THE immitigably evil effects of an attempt to censor the arts have been illustrated among us with a rapidity and impressiveness that leave nothing to be desired. The cry for a censorship was aroused, it will be recalled, by the performance of a dull and somewhat salacious farce. The Authors League of America met the menace of State censorship by agreeing to submit all questionable cases to a jury whose decision would be accepted as final by all parties concerned. Very well. A case is about to arise. It concerns Mr. Eugene O'Neill's play "The Hairy Ape." On May 18 Mr. Arthur Hopkins received a communication from Chief Magistrate McAdoo declaring that the Police Department had lodged a complaint against the play "as being obscene, indecent, and impure." Mr. Hopkins promptly wrote to Mr. Owen Davis, chairman of the Authors' League censorship committee, calling into question the wisdom of the entire plan. The expected had happened. The machinery of censorship was to be applied not to some brainless farce but to the one play of American authorship so far which all good judges unite in declaring an authentic contribution to the nobler drama of all time.

IS this play now to be submitted to a jury of more or less accidental persons? There may be some among them who think that to absolve the I. W. W. from habitual violence is to shake the foundations of the Republic. There may be another whose delicate ears are offended by the gorgeous vocabulary of the tragic "Yank." Mr. Hopkins soundly asserts that he has no right to subject a profoundly sincere work of art to such accident. He is its servant, interpreter, protector. Mr. McAdoo's office, it may be added, has been hedging on the whole question. Through the courtesy of the Hopkins office, however, we have been able to examine the original of Mr. McAdoo's communication. A policeman didn't like "The Hairy Ape"; therefore we are to place on trial a play on which the theater-going public has already passed an almost unanimously favorable verdict. To a lower point of absurdity the question of censorship cannot be reduced.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unions and the Golden Rule

IT is an interesting fact that in the manufacture of clothing—an industry until recently synonymous with sweatshops—there have emerged both the most progressive American labor unions and the best-advertised example of the personal application of Christianity by an employer to the problems of industry. It is significant that the employer, "Golden Rule" Nash, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are by no means in agreement. Mr. Nash is a dominating personality and a forceful speaker. Churchmen who are always eager to have some one prove to them that Christian ethics require no radical economic reorganization seized with pathetic eagerness on his persuasive statements that having applied the Golden Rule to a dying clothing factory he had made it prosper mightily. Unfortunately the Amalgamated Clothing Workers brought serious charges against the working conditions in his factory and the reality of the democracy he had established. These charges have been at least partially sustained by independent investigations. The report most favorable to Mr. Nash—that of a committee of churchmen, printed in the *Christian Century*—says that the investigators "found a lack of system and the absence of an adequate technique to insure a democratic administration of the program." Five workers of this Golden Rule factory were discharged, it is alleged, for not signing a petition directing the management to employ no members of the Amalgamated. Mr. Nash and his superintendent claim that the main reason was inefficiency but, as Professor Atkins points out, in the *Journal of Political Economy*, "The threat of unionism is in itself a contradiction to talk of complete satisfaction, and that threat is a very real one to the Nash Company." Adele Shaw thus summarizes conditions in the *Survey:*

> The Golden Rule Shop, in other words, is a shop with physical conditions of ten years ago prevailing in one building and with the new building, just opened, by no means a model; a factory with the old contractual system of wages, with the bargaining and speeding up and "firing" in the hands of a superintendent who, bent on efficiency, is ruler of the shop, with no impartial labor manager or board to revise his decisions. . . .

It is, of course, unfair to judge the success of "industrial democracy" as instituted by broad-minded employers from this criticism of Mr. Nash's much-advertised enterprise. It is far more important to observe that the most intelligent individual "application to business of the Golden Rule" cannot solve our economic problems. Every employer, both as producer and consumer, is inextricably bound up in a world of special privilege in the ownership of land and natural resources, of tariff subsidies, of senseless wastes and cruel exploitations from which only a cooperative and highly intelligent application of the social will to justice can save us. Even in the comparatively narrow sphere of the relations between employers and employees the unit of action in many vital matters must be the industry as a whole and not a particular factory. One clothing shop may pay higher wages and grant better working conditions than its rivals so long as this additional expense is compensated by an increase in morale and efficiency. But there are inexorable limits beyond which a single employer no matter how benevolent cannot go without facing ruin.

It follows therefore that a union which adds vision and purpose to organization is a more effective agent of progress than an individual employer, and that the employer who intelligently desires to improve conditions in the industry will cooperate with the union rather than try to forestall it by concessions to his own employees. The recent conventions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and of the International Ladies Garment Workers call attention to their constructive achievements beside which local schemes of "industrial democracy" pale into insignificance. Both these unions have come through a period of industrial depression and have withstood an organized attack upon labor with ranks unbroken, while preserving the gains previously won. The Amalgamated has peacefully renewed agreements with employers in the important clothing markets of Chicago and Rochester. The Rochester agreement is typical. It admits a slight wage reduction but keeps the principle of "industrial government," the forty-four-hour week, equal division of work among all workers during slack periods, and it permits the union within a year to raise the question of unemployment insurance as a charge upon the industry as a whole. The national convention enthusiastically indorsed a plan whereby the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are to launch a workers' corporation for the development in Russia of textile mills and clothing factories which the Soviet authorities are ready to turn over to its management. Profits over 10 per cent are to be used for the extension of industry in Russia.

No such dramatic event marked the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers. Public interest in their convention was centered mainly on the effort of what proved a very small minority to displace the competent leadership of the union. The union emerged from this internal struggle stronger than ever. Its record of generous giving, educational activity and social vision is impressive.

In the industrial life of the United States there is nothing more hopeful than the progress of these bodies composed mainly of foreign-born workers. Here is a genuine beginning of self-government in industry; here is proof that the workers are capable of vision and idealism combined with practical common sense and the capacity to find and to follow leaders of unusual ability. The record of the needle trades ought to be a stimulus to all labor unions in America, a challenge to conscientious employers who really seek proof of the capacity of workers for self-government in industry, and an inspiration to thoughtful Americans who realize that autocracy in business is the negation of every move toward democracy in politics and in society.

Child Labor and the Constitution

THE Constitution gives to Congress the power to regulate interstate commerce and to impose excise taxes. The authority to regulate their internal affairs is reserved to the legislatures of the States themselves. In 1916 Congress denied the products of child labor transportation in interstate commerce.

It had previously forbidden the interstate transportation of lottery tickets, impure foods and drugs, intoxicating liquors in certain cases, and women for purposes of prostitution. These prohibitions had been sustained by the Supreme Court and had led the advocates of the child-labor law to believe themselves to be upon sound constitutional ground. But the Supreme Court thought otherwise and by a five to four decision declared the law unconstitutional, on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the ground that it was not a regulation of interstate commerce at all but an uncandid attempt to meddle with production within the several States. The other articles barred from interstate trade, said the majority, were harmful in themselves, while the products of child labor were not. (This distinction, tenuous at best as Mr. Justice Holmes pointed out, neglected the harmful effects of the products of child labor upon the community when brought into competition with similar articles manufactured in other States where child labor is not permitted. Adult labor costs more than child labor, but the court deemed this consideration irrelevant, merely remarking that Congress had no power to prevent possible unfair competition.)

The proponents of a Federal child-labor law then attacked the problem in another way, and prevailed upon Congress to levy a heavy excise tax upon the net profits of employers of child labor. In this method also they thought that they were safe because the Supreme Court had sustained the constitutionality of a discriminatory excise tax on artificially colored oleomargarin which drove it off the market. Then in 1919 came the decisions sustaining the Harrison Narcotic Drug Act, which taxed the production and distribution of narcotics and prescribed minute regulations for the conduct of the drug trade not only in interstate commerce but within the boundaries of the States. In these cases the Supreme Court seemed to foreshadow the validity of the second child-labor law by saying: "Nor is it sufficient to invalidate the taxing power . . . that the same business may be regulated by the police power of the State. The act may not be declared unconstitutional because its effect may be to accomplish another purpose as well as the raising of revenue."

All the more surprising therefore is the decision, just handed down by the Chief Justice and concurred in by the whole court except Mr. Justice Clarke, invalidating the second attempt to stamp out child labor by Federal action. The law, says the court, is not a tax at all, but an attempt to regulate production within the States by a penalty under the guise of a tax. This is true, but it must be obvious that the Narcotic Drug Act also was in fact an attempt to regulate production and distribution within the States under the guise of regulations for the collection of a tax. Yet the court admits the power of Congress to regulate the traffic in drugs and denies the power to regulate the traffic in the labor of children!

It is not our province to say which decision contains the sounder doctrine of constitutional law, but that such processes of government are based upon the forms of society rather than upon its realities we can scarcely doubt. Indeed when we permitted our courts to assume power to decide questions of constitutionality we made such situations inevitable because the reconciliation of progress with the rigidity of a written constitution is a matter of politics and not of law. And political matters are decided, not by a strict attention to realities or even to logic, but by a complicated mixture of data, belief, pressure, and public opinion. By such considerations are the justices of the Supreme Court subconsciously moved when deciding political questions. When they deem the matter sufficiently urgent they permit the framework of the Constitution to relax. When they think otherwise they call it "the ark of our covenant," as did the Chief Justice, and refuse to let it budge. Decisions like this on the child-labor law make the unsatisfactory nature of such a situation cry out to high Heaven.

"Moral Obligation" in Liberia

A JOINT resolution is before Congress authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to lend five million dollars to the tiny Negro republic of Liberia on the West Coast of Africa. The resolution, drawn by Secretary of State Hughes, recalls our "feelings of traditional friendship for the Republic of Liberia" and our solicitude "for its well-being *and continued independence* and for the peaceful development and future advancement of the Negro race," and directs that the loan be made "subject to the approval of the President and *in conformity with an appropriate arrangement made under his direction.*" It does not suggest that such an arrangement has already been drawn; yet such is the case. This arrangement, signed at Washington last October by Mr. Hughes and by plenary commissioners of the Liberian Republic, makes Liberia in fact a servile American colony, ruled by a financial commissioner to be named by the President of the United States. This financial commissioner will collect and disburse all Liberian revenues; he will determine the size of the Liberian police and military force, which will be commanded by American army officers; he will have power to veto any item in the Liberian budget, to order any financial legislation passed which he may desire, to dismiss any employee of the Liberian customs, tax, or treasury services at will; he will limit the annual expenditures of Liberia to a total of $560,000, almost a fifth of which, $109,700, must go to pay the salaries of twenty-two American officials, and more for their expenses. He will himself receive a salary 25 per cent larger than that received by the Secretary of State of the United States. In short he will be the well-paid dictator of Liberia, subject to no Liberian control and only in a very distant manner to control by the United States.

Incidentally one of his definite instructions will be to apply a part of the $5,000,000 "lent" from the Treasury of the United States to the payment of approximately $1,650,000 to repay the present foreign debt of Liberia to "J. P. Morgan and Co., Kuhn, Loeb and Co., the National City Bank of New York, and First National Bank of New York, acting for themselves and for Robert Fleming and Co., Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, M. M. Warburg and Co., and Hope and Co., and for others." These bonds have been, according to the testimony of Harry A. McBride, of the State Department, before the House Committee on Ways and Means, selling at 98, approximately par, "since the $5,000,000 loan was first announced to Liberia. Before that, I think they were selling for about 75 or 80." In other words, the bare announcement that Uncle Sam was about to lend this $5,000,000 at one leap increased the value of the holdings of these bankers by at least $330,000.

Mr. Hughes has informed Congress and the President, and the President has informed the American people, that there is a "moral obligation" upon us to make this loan. The "moral obligation" is due to the fact that President Wilson, in the happy days of war time when loans were running fast and free, informed Liberia that he would make this loan, and negotiated with Great Britain and France to keep them out of the Liberian fields and forests, thereby making it impossible for Liberia to get a loan elsewhere. One reason the matter was so long delayed was that the Liberian Legislature objected to certain provisions of an agreement submitted to it. This agreement unfortunately

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has not been made public; we understand that it was not as humiliating as the Hughes plan. At any rate, upon our insistence Liberia finally sent to this country a commission armed with plenary powers to make the loan on any terms, "any law to the contrary notwithstanding," and the agreement, which is printed in the International Relations Section of this week's *Nation*, was signed on October 28, 1921.

Liberia was founded almost exactly a century ago by freed slaves from America, encouraged by the American Government. Our navy, according to the late Philander C. Knox, "energetically persuaded the natives," theretofore unwilling, to sell land to the colonists. At various times we have intervened to prevent excessive encroachment by England or by France, Liberia's neighbors, who have gradually reduced her territory by about one-half. In 1909 we sent a commission to Liberia, which was much impressed by the high-handed methods used by the British in assuming control of the Liberian customs and frontier force. This commission reported that "it is difficult to find among the Liberians any who have entire confidence in the disinterestedness of Great Britain"; that French "interest in Liberia is apparently that of an heir expectant"; that "Germany has lent her at least a sympathetic understanding" but that since Germany had "ambitious designs in Africa" Liberia naturally turned to the United States for disinterested help. Following the suggestions of this commission a refunding gold loan of $1,700,000 was arranged for Liberia by a group of American bankers, with British, French, and German associates, with the approval of their respective governments, and under an agreement between the bankers and the Liberian Government the control of the customs and other assigned revenues was placed under an international receivership, with an American agent at its head. This worked reasonably well until the war, but war conditions, together with British restrictions upon African trade, cut Liberia's customs revenue—which was four-fifths of her total revenue—in half, and she fell into financial chaos. In 1918 the United States induced Liberia to come into the war upon Great Britain's agreement to remove those restrictions if all Germans in Liberia were deported—which they were, upon a French warship. Trade, however, did not improve. It was at this juncture that President Wilson announced the credit of $5,000,000 for Liberia, of which only $26,000 was spent—for the expenses of Liberia's delegation at the Peace Conference.

Moral obligation therefore there may be; but incidental to it Mr. Hughes is attempting to impose a most immoral servitude upon the Liberian people. Here, if there ever was one, is a case for the United States to give genuinely distinterested help. That would, under the circumstances necessarily involve some American supervision of customs. Under the guise of morality, however, to impose upon a tiny African republic a huge loan with no fixed date of termination, which puts the absolute control of the republic for the period of the loan in the hands of an American official—who may well be, as such officials have been in Haiti, a Negro-hating Southerner—and to require that a large part of the loan be used to repay in full claims now in the hands of bankers who bought them far below par—this is a public scandal of which a good churchgoing Baptist like Mr. Hughes ought to be thoroughly ashamed. The business of committing the country to defend jungle frontiers in Africa against the British and the French, and of maintaining there our own private colony is going too far.

The Maiden Names of Presidents

THE time has passed when a young man could achieve any feeling of magnificence by offering a young woman the honor and shelter of his name. If he tries it now the chances are that she will say "Well, I'm used to my own name and somehow it's got itself all mixed up with my personality and my business. Besides it has a pleasant, pungent sound to me—McMurtrie. No, thank you. I think I'll keep it." And the best the young man can do is to inquire politely "Wouldn't it be a nice idea, if you're going to keep it, to keep it in my house—our house, that is—instead of in that horrid little furnished room you have? If you're keeping a nice name like McMurtrie you certainly ought to treat it well." More and more tenaciously women are holding on to their own names with the firm intent that people shall no longer ask "Who *was* she before she was married?" in a tone that implies that some horrid dissolution has lately taken place. And presently men, in their turn, will refuse to allow their own copyright to be infringed upon. "Of course," they will say, "she's a nice girl and I had thought of marrying her, but, darn it all, she's old-fashioned and wants to take my name. One name isn't enough for her, it seems! Now I simply can't have any more Van Husens around; that name means me and nobody else. Her views on the tariff are absurd and she is president of the Women's Henry-Ford-for-Our-Next-President Association. Not that I mind what she thinks, only I can't have Van Husen stamped all over articles of that sort."

But just as names are thus beginning to establish themselves in the community as marks of individuality quite as important as trademarks and copyright labels a sad event is recorded in the press: Twenty-two Shipping Board vessels have been renamed for presidents of the United States. This means loss not merely of a trademark but of personality. "Who was she," people will say, "before she became the President Pierce?" Old transatlantic travelers will weep softly and say "Beautiful creature, the President Taft—née Lone Star State—graceful, lovely lines—went to Europe with her in 1920." Only the Leviathan, through the modesty of President Harding, is to keep its own fine-sounding name. Who would want to grow up to be President if he had to lose a name like Panhandle State or Blue Hen State or Buckeye State to become a President Monroe or Garfield or Roosevelt? And some do not even achieve the presidency. There is another ship, for instance, which, mournfully we are sure, accepts the name of American Legion. This is almost more than we can bear, and we are sure that all national patriotic organizations will protest. Where, for instance, is the S. S. Ku Klux Klan or the S. S. D. A. R. or the proud Sabbath Day Alliance? Has the Shipping Board run out of ships or did it merely forget? If ships must lose their names we would like to have a hand in choosing new ones for them. With the presidents and the patriotic organizations out of the way we should like to suggest that some noble sister-ship of the American Legion take the name of the Civil Liberties Union and that the S. S. N. A. A. C. P. be promptly christened. But we should prefer any day to have all vessels keep their own names. We hate to see this lapse from feminism in the fleet, and we urge self-respecting ships to send in a prompt application for membership in the Lucy Stone League.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Genoa: Dancing on a Volcano

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Genoa, May 2

"RUSSIA is hell, but Europe is a waste." Thus wrote the Russian writer Remisov in his tribute to Alexander Blok. Could Remisov have come to Genoa he would have found his words eminently justified. It is a desert of politics, unchristian politics, without ideals, without clear-cut aims, with the most vital issues before the world banned in advance; a mess of intrigue, carried on chiefly by little men, which may end in utter futility, which may record some slight successes. And meanwhile European humanity faces disaster! What Remisov meant has been explained to me by a German journalist who but recently came back from six months in Moscow, horrified by bolshevist Russia in which, he thinks, ten more millions will die of hunger, but still more horrified by the Europe which he now regards with utterly different eyes. Anti-Bolshevist as he is to his finger-tips he loathes this Genoa Conference still more. What is his one controlling thought? To get back to bolshevist Russia! It is hell, he says, but a hell that is vital, pulsing, out of whose horrible travail some good is yet to come for Russia and the world—if only they see it through. His fear is that the Russian delegation here will surrender to the money powers of Western Europe. Then, he says, there will go by the board the last bulwark against the crass, soul-destroying materialism of after-the-war Europe.

That is one of the great dramas being played here—this effort to buy off bolshevism through its terrible needs. Perhaps, this observer thinks, the Allies would make no effort at all to aid if they knew just how desperate the bolshevist situation is. Instead they are sermonizing, with much of that fearful Anglo-Saxon cant with which Mr. Hughes sermonizes about Mexico, when everybody knows that it is not real love of humanity which impels the Allies but French desire to get their money back and English thirst for Russian trade. Of course if there were the right spirit here the Allies would have said to the Russians "What, brothers, can we *do* for you?" The Russians would have told them and told them just what Russia could do in return. Instead the Allies have laid down their terms, cold-blooded bankers' terms, without the slightest vision of what may come, what *is* coming to crucified Russia.

There is another outcast nation here, permitted to sit below the salt but not to speak unless spoken to. Once again the fate of Europe hangs upon Germany, but simply and solely because if it goes down to its impending ruin Europe will go too, and first of all France, because of her terrible financial situation, for which she needs and deserves help and sympathy. To one like myself who has just revisited Germany after a three years' absence the imminence of the catastrophe is so obvious that one wonders how in the world men can meet in Genoa and talk of anything else. Financiers like Mr. Vanderlip who have the objective vision of the detached observer see it; so does every sound, unbiased economist. Every German official knows it; they are men crushed under a terrible burden; the tick of the clock on their walls is like the striking of the hours in a condemned man's cell. There are signs that Lloyd George realizes it; he says he does. He was appealing the other night to the fraternity of American and English journalists as if he were at last in earnest about undoing the crimes of Versailles of which he, Wilson, and Clemenceau were the joint authors. But how trust the man? As he spoke I could only see before me the Lloyd George of the "Hang the Kaiser" and "a ton for a ton" campaign of November-December, 1918. I could only remember how this man consented to the Boulogne program and thereby condemned Genoa to emasculation.

Meanwhile one sometimes asks why the skies do not fall upon those who frivol here. Nero was much more rational when Rome burned—presuming that he played well. Of course the crux is France. There are many Frenchmen who demand German money because they know that without it they face bankruptcy; these merit cooperation and aid. No sane German doubts France's needs or shirks his responsibility here. Alas, there are other Frenchmen, Poincaré at their head, who desire Germany's dismemberment and ruin. They will hail the day that she collapses. They applaud the Allied Commission in Berlin, which in sixty days sent one hundred demands, orders, threats, and instructions to the Wirth Government (including an order to change the color of the police uniforms in the city of Berlin at a cost of thirty million marks) because they know that this policy destroys the authority of the present German Government with its own people. They are actively behind the separatist movements in Bavaria and on the Rhine. They cannot pay interest on the American loans but they support monarchist and Communist movements alike within Germany. Today I read in cold type in *L'Action Française:* "It is the destruction of Germany that we want."

Well, waiving humanity and Christianity and a few other trifles like that, one could perhaps understand the Poincaré policy if it had a foundation in self-interest. If Germany were in a water-tight compartment, and its extinction affected nobody else, one could imagine a certain type of human or inhuman watching its death struggles with sadistic glee, or with that utter callousness with which the German submarine crews left the survivors of torpedoed ships to row off by themselves into dark and wintry and overwhelming seas. But little Europe is not constituted that way; the fall of Germany inevitably means frightful effects for all her neighbors. A prominent Allied diplomat put it to me this way: "The world more than one hundred years ago got all through with the idea that it pays to destroy a people. It is a policy of suicide for France." Yet this all-overshadowing question the Conference cannot touch—though every non-official gathering comes to it at once. In this desert of Genoa we shall gather a pretty financial flower: the pious desire of the Conference that all the nations of the earth shall adopt the gold standard and the hope (destined to non-fulfilment) that our Federal Reserve Board join the central banks of Europe in creating additional reserves by depositing in certain centers (perhaps chiefly with us) the gold reserves of other nations. What the economic report is to be is not yet known. It too will give us a few harmless thoughts. It is impossible for anyone to get excited over the non-aggression pact, since it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

differs from the famous Article X of the League Covenant chiefly in the proposed number of its adherents. Will it keep France out of Germany? How can that be answered save by a forbidden discussion of the Versailles treaty? Thus we move around in circles.

Yet good may come out of this Conference—if Lloyd George is true to his new course, if it isolates France and makes clear to all the world, as the Prime Minister has threatened it shall, who is responsible for the failure and who endangers the very existence of civilization. Some indirect results have been achieved by the sitting down together of the Allies, the neutrals, the Central Powers, and Russia. That had to come some day; it should have happened three years ago. It has, of course, been accompanied by much writing up of the Russians and Germans as if they were wild jungle animals just brought into a compound. But that was inevitable at the first meeting; at the next meeting all will seem natural and normal. The tactlessness with which the German-Russian treaty was sprung on the Conference gave the opportunity for the pack to open up. But the baying ceased when it was discovered that Lloyd George as well as other British officials knew all along that this pact was on the way; when it appeared that the German-Russian treaty did not violate that of Versailles and was merely such as other nations had already signed with Russia. The furore is now over, and the victory remains with the Germans and Russians. Yet the question arises, in view of the economic conditions of both countries, whether it means more than that the dead past is now officially declared dead.

Next I count as a gain the cordial cooperation here of British and American journalists as well as the friendly relations with their German colleagues. Nothing could be finer than the way the British and Americans are pulling together, presenting a solid anti-jingo front—except only the Northcliffe press-men, many of whom do not share the views they are ordered to present. The results of joint experience in Washington and Paris are now being felt. Still more to the good is the crystallizing of opinion which is going on among all the press and non-official onlookers. This ought eventually to make itself felt even in distant America. But it is discouraging that of all our great financiers and business men only one, Frank A. Vanderlip, has seen the wisdom of coming here—how insular Wall Street still is! Fortunately we are well represented in the person of Mr. Vanderlip. I count his series of admirable, far-seeing articles on the economic situation here one of the really worth-while by-products of the Conference; *The Nation's* readers are, I hope, following them in the *World*.

No dispatches can even hint the beauty of the stage-setting. Genoa is a wonderful place for such a gathering, a city to dream about, and the Italian Government has proved a generous and thoughtful host. In this Conference, as at Washington, the Italians, notably Signor Schanzer, who found the way out of several difficult situations, have played an admirable part. All the Italian love of color and picturesqueness has come into play; the streets are brilliantly lighted and thronged by day and by night, and the wonderful palaces are so superb and impressive as to thrill anew even those who recollected them of old. Surely this charming birthplace of Columbus ought to have been the scene for the birth of a new world order.

What ought to have been done in Genoa is perfectly evident. It requires no seventh son of a seventh son to point it out. Primarily there is the German situation—more important and more pressing even than the Russian. Something must be done before May 31 to provide more money for France and yet leave Germany in peace, free to devote herself to work and to deal with her grave domestic problems. May 31 is the date set for impossible German payments, on which the French threaten further hostile action. The consensus of opinion here is that the only hope is in an international loan. The British lean to a one-year proposal and to the elaborate plan of Sir Robert Horne, which would reduce the total German liabilities to 45 billion gold marks of what may be called active liabilities. The Germans cannot, they say, pay even the interest on this 45 billions, but they and the French are, curiously enough, one in urging a four-year loan of four billion gold marks of which 2,500,000,000 would go to the Allies at once, 500 millions be held for interest payments, 500 millions for stabilizing the paper mark, and 500 millions for "clearing" German citizens who have had to pay damages at pre-war valuations, or for food. Of this loan Germany would raise a billion, one billion would, it is hoped, be placed in America, and the rest in France, Great Britain, and the neutral countries. This scheme, or some modification of it, must be accepted unless the gravest consequences are to follow on May 31. Since the issue has been avoided here, it now comes before the May 8 meeting of the committee of the Reparation Commission to which Mr. Morgan has just been added. The money cannot be raised in a month, but the policy can be fixed.

I have set forth above what should have been done for the Russian problem. Today we hear that the dominating Powers have no intention of offering money to Russia for the purchase of food! They do not yet know that famine and the terrible diseases which follow in its train are contagious. They are not moved by stories of little children wandering one hundred miles to American feeding stations nor of others dying by the hundred thousand. The incredible horrors of the Volga move no heart, not even that of the for-the-hour-repentant Lloyd George; here are only politics, petty, puerile politics, in a waste in which the puppets lack every element of greatness. Even common sense. Who can doubt that if common sense reigned here the Genoa Conference would within a week have adopted a customs union for Europe, thrown down the barriers which hamper trade and intercourse and travel, all those artificial obstacles with which the various countries, notably the new, are intensifying their own economic and currency ills? It is so obvious—as obvious as the need of land disarmament to help balance the budgets—that one listens incredulously, yet hears naught of such a proposal. The delegations do not recall that Germany's greatness dates from the Zollverein of the thirties, reinforced when, in 1870, the last barriers between the German states were thrown down. Why talk about non-aggression pacts when each nation is really waging a tariff war against its every neighbor?

Genoa, blind, sees nothing in this. Genoa is unstirred by the spectacle of 4,000,000 unemployed in Europe—nearly 10,000,000 workers in the whole world; a phenomenon unprecedented in human history. Yes, but the food is good here, the wines excellent, the opera entertaining, the dance places charming, the nearby Riviera towns well worth seeing. Did you notice how many hundreds of soldiers and carabinieri were on the streets? And isn't the life and color and vim of Genoa really quite too delightful?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These United States—IV*

VERMONT: Our Rich Little Poor State

By DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER

The following article is the fourth of a series on the commonwealths that compose this republic, These United States. *The first, on Kansas, by William Allen White; the second, on Maryland, by H. L. Mencken; and the third, on Mississippi, by Beulah Amidon Ratliff, were published in our issues of April 19, May 3, and May 17, respectively. The articles will probably appear in every other issue of* The Nation. *No attempt has been made to secure uniformity of treatment, but rather as widely varying points of view as possible. Some of the articles will be largely political, some economic, some purely descriptive of the people and some of the physical characteristics of given States; some may be deliberately fragmentary, others may attempt a complete survey; some will be censorious, others more favorable in their analysis. But it is hoped that the series will furnish an enlightening perspective of the America of today in the somewhat arbitrary terms of politico-geographic boundaries, and that it will be a valuable contribution to the new literature of national self-analysis. The writers who have already submitted articles differ considerably in political or economic attitude, in profession and mode of life. These articles reveal in consequence a gratifying divergence. Other "States" are in preparation. A still larger number is as yet unassigned.*

EVERYBODY knows that New York State is a glowing, queenly creature, with a gold crown on her head and a flowing purple velvet cloak. The face of Louisiana is as familiar—dark eyed, fascinating, temperamental. Virginia is a white-haired, dignified *grande dame* with ancient, well-mended fine lace and thin old silver spoons. Massachusetts is a man, a serious, middle-aged man, with a hard conscientious intelligent face, and hair thinned by intellectual application. And if I am not mistaken, Pennsylvania is a man too, a well-dressed business man, with plenty of money in his pockets and the consciousness of his prosperity written large on his smooth indoor face and in his kindly calculating eyes.

These State countenances are familiar to all of us, and many more; but back of this throng of affluent, thriving personalities, quite conscious of their own importance in the world, stands one, known to fewer Americans, lean, rather gaunt compared to the well-fed curves of the others, anything but fine, aristocratic, or picturesque. Yet the little group of mountaineers who know the physiognomy of Vermont from having grown up with it have the most crabbed, obstinate affection and respect for their State, which they see as a tall, powerful man, with thick gray hair, rough out-door clothes, a sinewy ax-man's hand and arm, a humorous, candid, shrewd mouth and a weather-beaten face from which look out the most quietly fearless eyes ever set in any man's head. They know there is little money in the pockets of that woodman's coat, but there is strength in the long, corded arm, an unhurried sense of fun lies behind the ironic glint in the eyes, and the life animating all the quaint, strong, unspoiled personality is tinctured to its last fiber by an unenvious satisfaction with plain ways which is quite literally worth a million dollars to any possessor. Not to envy other people is an inheritance rich enough; but Vermont adds to that treasure the greater one of not being afraid. It seems incredible, in our modern world, so tormented with fears about its safety, that a whole Stateful of people have no ground for apprehension; but it is true. The Vermonter is so used to the moral freedom of not dreading anything that he is hardly conscious of it. It is the breath he draws, this lack of fear, it is the marrow of his bones. Why should he be afraid of anybody or anything?

What are some of the things that other people fear? Well, most of them are afraid of being poor. This fear, rather more than love, is what makes the modern world go round. The Vermonter is not afraid of being poor because he is poor already and has been for a hundred and fifty years, and it hasn't hurt him a bit. To trade for money this lack of fear of poverty would seem to him the most idiotic of bargains, and if there is one thing on which he prides himself it is on not making poor bargains. This quality makes him by no means a favorite with people who try to organize the world along what they call "strictly business lines of industrial efficiency." Most of their operations are based on their certainty that people are afraid to be poor. We Vermonters often notice a considerable heat of exasperation in such devotees of industrialism when they encounter the natives of our State. We make no comment on this at the time, taking them in with the silent attentive observation which they furiously dub "bucolic stolidity"; but after they have gone back to the city we laugh to ourselves, and some old fellow among us hits on just the droll, ironic phrase to describe the encounter. For years afterwards, we quote this to the mystification of the outsider.

Another well-known and much-described fear is that of not keeping up with the social procession, of being obliged to step down a rung on the social ladder. This is another fear which stops short before it gets into Vermont. That small section of the country has never kept up with other people's processions and has found it no hardship to walk along at its own gait. And as for social ladders, any glimpse of a social ladder or of purely social distinctions moves a Vermonter to the unaffected, pitying, perhaps rather coarsely hearty mirth which white people feel at the sight of the complicated taboo of savage tribes. Of course, the Vermonter pays for his high-handed scoffing at sacred social distinctions by a rough plainness, not to say abruptness, of speech and manner which people from outside do not relish and which they describe in far from complimentary terms. This is a pity. But I daresay you can't have something for nothing morally, any more than materially, and perhaps it is not too high a price to pay for the total absence in our world of any sort of servility or overbearing arrogance or any sort of pretentiousness. Every man to his taste. We like it better the way we have it.

Another fear, perhaps the most corroding one in our

* Reproduction forbidden. Quotation limited to 300 words. Copyright, 1922, The Nation, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

world of possessors of material wealth, is the panic alarm at any glimpse of possible changes in the social fabric which may make things uncomfortable for possessors. The Latin poet who many years ago described the light-hearted stride of a poor man across a dark plain infested with robbers described the care-free gait at which Vermont moves through the uncertain and troubled modern world. Vermont, like some of the remote valleys in the Pyrenees, has always been too far out of the furiously swirling current of modern industrial life to be much affected by it or to dread its vagaries. For generations now, when times get hard and manufacturers are flat and deflated and the mills in the industrial States around us are shut down, and the newspapers are talking about bankruptcies and bread-lines, the Vermont family, exactly as rich and exactly as poor as it ever was, remarks with a kindliness tinged with pride: "Well, we'd better ask Lem's folks up to stay a spell, till times get better. I guess it's pretty hard sledding for them." And when times get better and Lem's family leave the poor little frame farm-house which has been their refuge, and drive off down the steep stony road which is the first stage of their journey back to wages and movies, the Vermont family stand looking after them, still with friendliness.

They realize shrewdly that already they seem countrified to their mill-town, factory-hand guests, but this does not worry them: rather it makes an ironic quirk come into the corner of their mouths, as at the transparent absurdity of a child. They continue to stand and wave their hands with undiminished kindliness, this time tinged by an amused humor which would be distinctly unpalatable to the others if they could understand it. I am afraid there is an element of sinful pride in the granite-like comfort they take in the security given them by their plain tastes and ability to deal with life at first hand. No dependence on employers for them!

Another problem of which we read occasionally as bothering serious-minded folks in other parts is what to do with accumulated wealth. It bothers us as little as how to fight cobras. For the most part, society in Vermont is organized along the most obviously solid and natural lines, primitive and elemental. Everybody is working. Yes, working, you jeering step-lively outsiders, although Vermonters may not hit up the hectic pace of factory hands and although some leisure for talking things over and reading the papers and cracking jokes about life, and going hunting and nutting is a necessity for Vermonters even if they are obliged to pay for it by the forgoing of sacred dollars. Almost everybody is working, and at the plainest, most visible, most understandable jobs, to raise food, or grind corn, or make shoes, or put houses together, or repair Fords, or teach children. It is very rare when anybody in Vermont fails to secure a fair amount of shelter and clothing and food and education; and it is equally rare when anybody secures very much more than that. There are, so to speak, no accumulated possessions at all.

But perhaps what Vermont is least afraid of and what other people fear and hate most, is politics. You know as well as I do that most Americans are low in their minds about politics. They feel that politics are really beyond them, that they never will be able to get what they want through their political action. The "fatalism of the multitude" weighs like lead upon their hearts. When there are so many, what can one man do? Well, you see in Vermont there aren't so many. There isn't any multitude. Self-government may not be perfection there, any more than anywhere else, but it bears the closest, realest relationship to the citizens, and is not at all given over to professional politicians who are always below the level of the best voters. Vermonters see nothing in self-government (especially local self-government) inherently more complicated than keeping your bank-book balanced. Perhaps this is because Vermont puts up as little as possible with that lazy substitute for self-government known as the "representative system," under which you tell somebody else to do the governing for you and not to bother you about it lest your money-making be disturbed. There is so little money to make in Vermont that few people are absorbed in making it. Nearly everybody has sufficient strength and time left over, and more than sufficient interest, to give to self-government. The Town Meeting is self-government, direct, articulate, personal. It is the annual assemblage not of the representatives of the governed, but of everyone of the governed themselves. Anybody—you who are governed by a non-existing entity called "the county" cannot understand this, but it is true—anybody at all who does not like the way things are going in his town can stand up and say so, and propose a cure, as pungently as his command of his native tongue will allow. And Czar Public Opinion not only lets him do this, but rather admires a man who has something to say for his own point of view.

Every question concerning the welfare of the town, to the last forgotten valley in the mountains, is brought up at this open meeting and decided after loud and open discussion. When it is over and the teams and Fords and lean wiry men stream away from the Town Hall over the rutted roads in the sharp March air, they are all tingling with that wonderfully stimulating experience, having spoken their minds out freely on what concerns them. They step heavily in their great shoes through the mud, which on March-meeting Day is awful beyond belief, but they hold up their heads. They have settled their own affairs. The physical atmosphere of town-meeting is rather strong with tobacco and sawdust and close air, but the moral atmosphere is like that on a mountain-peak compared to any political life I ever saw elsewhere, either in France or in other American States. There is none of that stultifying, bored, cynical, disillusioned conviction that the rogues will beat the honest men again this time, as always. Not on your life! The honest men are on the job, with remarkably big and knotty fists, their dander ready to rise if somebody tries to put something over on them. And although they might not be able to cope with specially adroit political rogues, there is blessedly so little money involved in most Vermont operations that it is hardly worth the while of specially adroit rogues to frequent town-meetings. The Vermonter has for a century and a half found self-government not so very daunting, and often the highest form of entertainment.

This tradition of looking the world in the eye and asking no odds of it, probably seems to the rest of you a rather curious tradition for a small, poor, rustic State with hardly a millionaire to its name, no political pull of any sort, and nothing to distinguish it in the eyes of the outside world. But all Vermonters know where it comes from, straight down from our forefathers who did look the world in the eye and made the world back down. With nothing on their side but their fearlessness and a sense of human rights as against property rights, they held out stoutly and successfully against oppression and injustice, though dressed up

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in all the fine names of "legality" and "loyalty to the organization of society."

Not many people outside Vermont know the dramatic story of the State's early life, but everybody inside the State does. There are fewer people in the whole State of Vermont than in the city of Buffalo, which is not at all huge as cities go now. But even at that, there are a good many men, women, and children in the State, over three hundred thousand. There is hardly one of this number who does not know about the history of the New Hampshire Grants, and how our great-grandfathers stood up against all the then existing British state for their naked human rights; and won the fight.

I know you are vague on this point, though you probably had it as a lesson one day in high school; so I will give you a sketch of it, compressed to a brevity which ought not to bore you too much. After the end of the French and Indian War, Vermont was safe ground for American settlers and the bolder spirits began to come in from New Hampshire and Connecticut. They settled, went through the terribly wearing toil of pioneers, felled trees, reclaimed land, drained swamps, built houses and mills, braved isolation, poverty, danger, health-breaking labor, and made Vermont a region of homes. They had learned to love it as we love it now, silently, undramatically, steadfastly, detesting any florid, high-flown talk about it, burying our love in our hearts and pretending to outsiders that it is not there. Vermonters are not sentimental, articulate Celts, but hermetically sealed Yankees. But they live on this love for their homes and they have shown themselves quite ready to die for it.

Back there in the eighteenth century, just when the settlers had definitely proved that they could make homes out of the wilderness, they were informed that by a legal technicality the grants by which they held their land were not valid; and that the King of England authorized New York lawyers to send officers of the law to take the Vermont land away from the men who had reclaimed it. It was then to be given to soft-handed, well-to-do men, with political influence who had no more rightful connection with that land than did the inhabitants of Peking. The Vermont settlers did not pretend to understand the law of that day. They only knew in their hearts that the land they had so painfully reclaimed, worked over, brought up their children on, was theirs, if anything ever belonged to anybody. A shout went up from Vermont to the New York officers of the law "Just come and take it away, if you dare!" And they got down their long rifles, ran some bullets, and dried their powder.

The hated "York State men" tried to do this, ventured into the Vermont settlements, were roughly treated, and sent home. They were afraid to try it again and retreated to the Albany courts of law, which summoned the Vermonters to submit the matter to trial. With nothing but their inherent human rights back of them, the Vermonters went down to Albany (no true Vermonter can abide the name of Albany since then!) and there went through the solemn twaddle of a law-trial, where the standards were not those of human rightness and fair-dealing, but were drawn from yellow parchments. Of course the parchments won. That is their habit in law-courts.

Ethan Allen was in Albany through this trial, to help the Vermonters. After the decision was rendered, he walked out of the law-court, on his way home, surrounded by a mocking crowd of York State men. The whole history is so familiar to us Vermonters that any one of us would know just what is coming next in this episode. When, in speaking to a Vermont audience you begin this story, you can see people lay down their umbrellas and handbags to have their hands free to applaud, and you can see every backbone straighten as you go on in the phrases consecrated by time, "They shouted jeeringly at Allen 'Now, do you know you're beaten? Now will you lie down and give up?' Ethan Allen drew himself to the full height of his magnificent manhood" (we never use any less fine a phrase than this) "and cried out in a ringing voice 'The gods of the mountains are not the gods of the plains,' and strode away leaving them silenced." (Here is where the speaker always has to wait for people to get through clapping.) He strode back to Vermont and organized a resistance. Was there ever a more absurd, pitiable, pretentious attempt? A handful of rough ignorant mountaineers, without a legal leg to stand on, to try and defend themselves against the British law! And their only pretext, the preposterous one that they had earned what they held!

Well, to make a long and complicated story short, the rough handful of ignorant men did continue to hold the land they had earned, and we, their descendants, are living on it now. They did more. For fourteen years after that, those men, our great-grandfathers, ruled Vermont, free of any sovereignty, an independent republic on the continent of North America. You never heard that quaint and colorful fact about our little State, did you? Yes, for fourteen years they stood straight and strong on their own feet, owing allegiance to nothing in creation but their own consciences. They stood steady in a whirling shifting world, and proved to their own satisfaction that to stand steady is not an impossible task.

Down to this day, down to the last corner of our green, wooded, mountain-bedecked State, we all stand steadier because of that memory back of us. Every foot of the land on which we live was held for us by the courage, almost absurd in its simple-heartedness, of our tall, lean, ironic grandfathers, and by their candid faith in the inherent strength of a just cause. They risked their fortunes and their lives on their faith in this principle: that those who work and create have certain sacred rights, no matter what laws may be, more than those who do nothing. With that principle as our main inheritance, we Vermonters can cock our feet up on the railing of the porch and with a tranquil heart read the news of the modern world and the frightened guessing of other folks at what is coming next!

[*The next article will be* New Jersey: The Slave of Two Cities, *by Edmund Wilson, Jr.*]

Contributors to This Issue

JOHN KENNETH TURNER is the author of "Barbarous Mexico" and a contributor on the issues of the day to the current magazines.

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER, contributor of essays and short stories to various magazines, is the author of "The Montessori Mother," "Mothers and Children," "Hillsboro People," "The Bent Twig," "The Real Motive," "Fellow-Captains," "Understood Betsy," "Home-Fires in France," "The Brimming Cup," etc. She has studied and traveled extensively in Europe and during the war spent three years in France doing war-work.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nicaragua*

By JOHN KENNETH TURNER

OUR Nicaraguan adventure began in 1909. The first step was an effort to remove President Zelaya from power, through a revolution financed by Adolfo Diaz. Before the launching of this revolution, Diaz was a bookkeeper on a salary of about $1,000 a year, in the employ of an American mining company owned in Pittsburgh. Diaz "loaned" the revolution $600,000 gold, the origin of which he was never able to explain. The hand of Washington began to be seen only when the anti-Zelaya movement, as a privately financed undertaking, was on the point of failure. December 1, 1909, Secretary of State Knox, in a singularly intemperate note, broke off relations with Zelaya and declared in favor of the revolution. His pretext was the execution of two American filibusters, Roy Cannon and Leonard Groce, who had been caught trying to dynamite a vessel loaded with Zelaya's troops. As these men had enlisted in the forces opposed to Zelaya, they had, of course, forfeited whatever rights they may have had to the good offices of their home government.

The action of Knox caused the resignation and flight of Zelaya. As his successor the Nicaraguan Congress elected Dr. José Madriz, by all accounts a person of high character. Whatever domestic reasons there existed for a revolution disappeared with the passing of Zelaya, and the revolution would have been quickly dissipated had it not been saved by American intervention. Madriz's forces took possession of the entire country with the exception of Bluefields, and bottled up the remnant of the insurgents in that seaport. But our marines were landed, and the Madriz commander was prohibited from entering the city. Filibusters were imported from the United States, the revolution was reorganized and revictualed, and in time was able to take the offensive. Protected by our navy, and due wholly to our assistance, the Diaz movement finally came into possession of the Nicaraguan capital.

Immediately, there arrived in Nicaragua one Thomas C. Dawson. A meeting with the revolutionary chiefs was held on board an American warship, and a bargain entered into, known as the Dawson Pact. Diaz was named vice-president, and Estrada, the military head of the revolution, was named president. In pursuance of the Dawson Pact, a farcical election was staged under the direction of American marines, the purpose being to frame a new constitution that would facilitate the bankers' program. But the scandal became so great that the packed Congress refused to carry out its full share of the scheme. Whereupon Estrada dissolved it and ruled as a dictator, taking his orders, however, from the American minister. Estrada was soon given the command to leave—and he left. So Adolfo Diaz, late bookkeeper for an American corporation, became president of the sovereign state of Nicaragua.

Naturally, the people of Nicaragua were hardly pleased by the turn of affairs, and it was to be expected that we who had placed Adolfo Diaz in power should be called upon to defend him. The Taft Administration poured some 2,350 marines and bluejackets into the country and a general war of pacification was prosecuted. The "battle of Coyotepe" and the "battle of Leon"—both in October, 1912—ended the organized resistance on the part of Nicaraguan patriots. All this was done without a shadow of legality. It was murder in the first degree. Had Woodrow Wilson, on becoming President, entertained real regard for the democratic principles by which he professed to be guided in the European war, he would at once have recalled our forces from Nicaragua, and denounced and repudiated the purposes for which they were sent there. Instead, he kept our marines in that "sister republic," and proceeded to carry out the purposes for which Taft sent them there.

The "Canal" Convention ratified by the Senate, February 18, 1916, cedes to the United States the following things: (1) Exclusive proprietary rights to construct, operate, and maintain, forever free from all taxation and public charges, an inter-oceanic canal across Nicaragua. (2) Lease of the Corn Islands on the Atlantic side, 99 years with option of renewal, for the purpose of a naval base. (3) Lease of territory on the Gulf of Fonseca, Pacific side, on the same terms.

In consideration whereof Nicaragua purports to receive $3,000,000. Actually, the money gets no nearer Nicaragua than a bank in New York. The convention provides that it cannot be drawn out without authority from the American Secretary of State. In the working out of the scheme, the money remains in the hands of a New York banking syndicate, which never renders any adequate return for it, either to the United States, which paid it out, or to Nicaragua, which is supposed to receive the benefit of it.

On its face the "Canal" Convention looks like a simple purchase and lease. In the unpublished features lies its secret. The canal "purchase" and the "leases" of territory were not urged by the Naval Board, but by our "patriotic" bankers. Their real motive may be judged by the things that Nicaragua lost besides her canal route and the territory set aside for naval bases.

When Knox deposed Zelaya, Nicaragua was solvent; the bona fide foreign debt was only about $2,500,000; the railroads were owned by the Government; the customs were collected and disbursed by native officials; the Government administered its own funds; the laws were framed and put through by citizens of that republic. But when the conquest was completed, Nicaragua was permanently in the hands of a receiver, with a debt in the neighborhood of $15,000,000; the railroads were in the possession of American bankers; the same bankers collected and disbursed the customs, owned the National Bank, and administered the public finances; legislation for the government of Nicaraguan citizens was framed in Wall Street, enacted at the direction of agents of Wall Street, and administered by Americans under control of an American banking syndicate.

It may be supposed that our financiers got possession of the Nicaraguan railroads, the banks, the customs, etc., by loaning to Nicaragua large sums of money, which the latter was unable to pay; that intervention was undertaken to enforce payment of such debts. No. Previously to the Diaz-Estrada plot, according to their own testimony, the bankers did not have a penny invested in Nicaragua. Their entire interest was based upon *the speculative opportunity* furnished by the defenseless condition of the little republic.

Wall Street went in for revolution, intervention, and polit-

* From John Kenneth Turner's book, "Shall It Be Again?" shortly to be published by B. W. Huebsch, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ical control in Nicaragua as a business proposition purely—prompted by the same motives which later caused it to go in for intervention in Europe. The scheme had been tried in Santo Domingo—and it worked. It had been tried in Honduras—and it worked. Later it was to be tried in Haiti. The ambition is ultimately to put the same system in operation in Mexico.

Very well, as soon as Adolfo Diaz was well on his way to the palace, we find our bankers acquiring bogus claims upon Nicaragua, and, at the same time, drafting, in their offices, a convention legalizing such claims, to be presented at Washington for solemn approval and ratification.

The first big claim acquired was known as "the Emery claim." For twenty years the George D. Emery Company had exploited a concession which had netted it $186,000 a year. Zelaya finally revoked the concession on the ground of gross violation of its terms. Emery then put in a claim based, not upon the investment, but upon the profits expected during a period of years to come. The claim was so preposterous that any honest court would have denied it forthwith. The bankers bought the Emery claim cheap—for less than $100,000, it was said. The bankers then tagged the claim with a valuation of $500,000, and at that price it was saddled upon Nicaragua, with the consent of both the Taft and the Wilson administrations.

As originally written (in 1911), the Nicaraguan convention, known as the Knox-Castrillo Convention, was to authorize a loan of $15,000,000 to Nicaragua. But an examination of the documents discloses the fact that Nicaragua was not to *receive* the money, that the bankers were to "expend" it. We discover, indeed, that the bankers were never to pay out any such sum as $15,000,000; that such sums as they paid out were to be paid chiefly *to themselves;* first, to liquidate the Emery and other claims, and, second, to "develop the country"—to establish a bank, which they themselves should own, and to improve the National Railway, which they themselves should control, operate, and later own. The bankers were also to receive a concession to build a new railroad, upon their own terms, at the expense of Nicaragua, the property to be controlled, operated, and owned by themselves. The $15,000,000 was to be paid out, but—by Nicaragua. The bankers were to collect the customs, and disburse therefrom the sums needed to meet their "claims" and "improvements," after which they were to pay out of this national revenue $15,000,000 and interest *to themselves* —to liquidate a loan that they had never made except on paper. But, in the fall of 1910, Congress went Democratic. The Knox-Castrillo Convention was defeated by the Democrats, and there was some denunciation of it as dollar diplomacy. Nevertheless, its worst features went into operation under a protectorate formally entered into by the Wilson Administration.

Mr. Taft's honorable Secretary of State, and the banking syndicate, did not, indeed, permit their scheme to be greatly hampered by the Senate. . . . They proceeded to put the terms of their convention into operation without indulging in the motions of legality. For the paper loan of $15,000,000, however, was substituted a "temporary loan" of $1,500,000, which, again, was not to be paid to Nicaragua, but expended by the bankers, who agreed to "reorganize" the National Bank, 51 per cent of the stock to be owned by the bankers, 49 per cent by the Nicaraguan Government. In "consideration" of this extraordinary "loan," the bankers were given a mortgage on the Government's share of the bank, a mortgage on the Government's railway, a lease for the operation of the Government's railway, a lien upon the customs, authority to negotiate a settlement of the Ethelburga "debt," a contract for the "reform" of the currency, and various other little things of solid financial value.

But first of all the bankers were placed in possession of the custom houses, where they remained, protected in their private business by the public armed forces of the United States—collecting the customs, paying out the customs receipts to run their Nicaraguan enterprises, paying out the customs money to liquidate principal and interest on the "loans" that Nicaragua never received.

The settlement of the Ethelburga "debt" is worth a word. The bona fide foreign debt of Nicaragua was only $2,500,000. Two and a quarter million of this sum had been taken up in a refunding scheme, negotiated in England just before the expulsion of Zelaya, known as the Ethelburga Syndicate Bonds. Had this scheme gone through it would have made the foreign debt amount to $6,472,689. But Nicaragua had never received any money on this deal. Moreover, there were irregularities which placed the Ethelburga bonds in the fraudulent class. At least this was the contention of the bankers, who offered to submit the matter to the British courts. The Ethelburga Syndicate did not wish to fight, and a settlement was arranged, not between the syndicate and the bankers acting for Nicaragua, but between the syndicate and the bankers *acting for themselves.*

In other words, the bankers acquired control of the Ethelburga business—cheap. The charge was made by Senator Smith of Michigan that they acquired the bonds for twenty-five cents on the dollar. These bonds were grafted upon the public debt of Nicaragua at par, $6,250,000, with the approval of both Taft and Wilson. The bankers proceeded to pay principal and interest to themselves out of the customs receipts of the republic.

Another item of interest is "our" "reform" of the Nicaraguan currency. The bankers drew upon their $1,500,000 "loan" to buy up for themselves, as private business men, the national paper at the existing market value, between 15 to one, and 20 to one. Then, as "fiscal agents of the Nicaraguan Government," they put into effect an arbitrary exchange rate of 12½ to one, unloaded at this figure, and so turned over a cool profit of from 25 to 75 per cent on every "reformed" Nicaraguan peso.

While the reforming was going on, the bankers "loaned" Nicaragua an additional half million dollars for sixty days, to facilitate the job. On this half million they collected a profit of $60,000, above interest, based upon the difference in the "value" of the Nicaraguan peso at the time that they "loaned" themselves the money and the time they "repaid" it.

In due course the bankers exercised their option to "purchase" a majority of the stock of the National Railway. Although it had been a paying investment, and although Zelaya had refused $4,000,000 for it, the bankers acquired control of the Nicaraguan National Railway for $1,000,000. Again, Nicaragua did not receive a cent. The syndicate simply made a paper payment to one of its New York banks, announcing that the "money" would be held against the "debts" it was rolling up against Nicaragua.

The press informed us, from time to time, that the chief purpose of the intervention and the financial deals connected with it, including the Canal "purchase," was a part of a big brotherly scheme to "assist Nicaragua to get on its feet financially." Had Mr. Wilson actually cared to "put Nica-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ragua on its feet"—and wanted the Canal route besides—he would have recommended that Nicaragua be paid in cash what the Canal route was worth, with the stipulation that Wall Street get its blood money and be kicked out of the country. Instead, in October, 1916, he permitted the bankers to take over the internal revenues, completing their control of Nicaragua's income and finances.

Finally, the terms of the Canal "purchase" and naval base "leases" were found to conflict with rights which Nicaragua's immediate neighbors shared with her on the Gulf of Fonseca, and the convention was ratified over the protests of Costa Rica, Salvador, and Honduras. Immediately afterward Costa Rica and Salvador brought suit against Nicaragua in the Central American Court of Justice, which had been set up in 1907 at the instance of the United States Government to obviate future wars among the Central American republics. The decision was against Nicaragua, and required the latter to repudiate the convention. This Wilson would not permit Nicaragua to do. Thus our own Government was the first to flout the judgments of an international peace court which it had assisted to set up, and whose decisions, inferentially at least, it had bound itself to respect.

In such circumstances lies the secret of the "necessity" of keeping an army of occupation permanently on the soil of a "sister republic." On page 511 of the Secret Senate Committee hearings appears the following colloquy:

Senator Smith of Michigan: Could the present Government down there be maintained at all without the aid or presence of American marines?

Mr. Cole: I think the present Government would last until the last coach of marines left Managua station, and I think President Diaz would be on that last coach.

This brief statement of Walter Bundy Cole, personal representative in Nicaragua of our bankers, explains the acceptance of the bankers' regime by the people of Nicaragua. Also, it partially explains the bankers' sure and perfect mastership over the native "government." Should the dummy in the palace become restive, he is quickly brought to terms by a simple threat to withdraw the protecting fence of foreign bayonets and leave him to the vengeance of his countrymen. Another form of discipline applied by the bankers is to withhold salaries until their commands are fully complied with. The President of the sovereign republic of Nicaragua was at times found humbly begging his wages of American financiers. When the "sale" of the National Railway was being put through, the members of the hand-picked National Assembly were afraid to approve the deal—so violent was public opposition to it. It is recorded that one means of pressure brought to bear upon them by Bundy Cole was to withhold their salaries until the contracts were duly ratified.

In such incidents is revealed the importance of the bankers' possession of the custom houses. Once there, their grip is forever fixed upon the throat of Nicaragua. They set their own terms upon all future transactions. They keep the books. Nicaragua can never become solvent. Nicaragua can never choose another master. The purpose of the "canal convention," acknowledged in the contracts, is to furnish security to the bankers. That security is extended in the shape of young men, in the uniform of marines, carrying rifles paid for in taxes by the American people. We protect not only the bankers, their custom houses, their banks, their railroads, but also their dummy President who sits in the palace. For this we pay, in cash alone, more than the bankers receive—although cash is the least of what we pay.

The story of Nicaragua is Pan-Americanism as Pan-Americanism is. This is the Monroe Doctrine, not as it is written, but as it is applied. This is "protecting American lives and property." This is "encouraging American trade." This is American imperialism, approved by both parties. It is not different, *in any respect*, from the imperialism of England, France, Germany, Japan, or Italy, at their worst.

[The Republic of Brown Bros., *being further revelations on the United States occupation of Nicaragua, with particular reference to the control by American bankers, will appear in the forthcoming issue of* The Nation.]

In the Driftway

EVER since he heard of Jack Dempsey's instructions regarding the non-union workers whom a profiteering contractor had employed on the champion's California home —"Give the bad eggs the air"—the Drifter has had a soft spot in his heart for that particular boxer. Next to diplomats the Drifter most detests athletic champions. And now he discovers that Jack too has succumbed to the temptation to be a statesman. The *Boxweltmeister*, as the *Berliner Tageblatt* calls him, was received in state on the morning of May 2 by the Herr Oberbürgermeister of Berlin. The Herr Oberbürgermeister of Berlin presented to Herr Dempsey a diplomatic greeting to the Herr Oberbürgermeister of New York, the Honorable John F. Hylan, Esquire. Still, perhaps boxers would make as good diplomats as bankers.

* * * * *

THE Drifter is moved by stories of prosaic modern bankers in Nicaragua to recall the memories of more lustrous days. Brown Brothers and Company are not the first Americans to take possession of that battered republic. There was William Walker, who filibustered up and down the whole west coast of Central America, proclaiming himself upon occasion President of Lower California, President of Sonora, and President of Nicaragua. He even persuaded President Pierce, in the post-Texan days when "manifest destiny" was young and open-mouthed, to recognize the government which he, with the aid of a few hundred longshoremen, young adventurers, and ne'er-do-wells, maintained in west Nicaragua. There was Walker's rival, Colonel Kinney, who proclaimed a provisional government in Greytown on the low-lying east coast. The Mosquito Coast, indeed, has a rich history. Groce and Cannon, the toy colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the Chamorro army, whose death at the hands of the Zelayistas was one of the pretexts of our modern intervention, were but pale epigones to a long tradition of freebooters and romance-makers. Nor were the Americans alone. There was the British forerunner of the white man's burden-bearers who, in 1687, forcibly brought a native chief to Jamaica for coronation as King of the Mosquitoes. No sooner was the poor sachem clad in western garments than he fled his would-be crowners, taking refuge high up in a palm-tree. After long conversations he was induced to climb down, be crowned, and to place his dominions under the protection of the British Crown. The Drifter admires colonizers with so much more imagination than Brown Brothers and J. and W. Seligman.

THE DRIFTER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

To Help Mr. William Higgs

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I do not wish to abuse your hospitality, but since you published Mr. Higgs's reply to my letter on *The Nation* and the Irish I have received several copies of that number. (Previously I received letters from readers who wanted me to know they agreed with me.)

In effect Mr. Higgs says, "the Republic is right, the compromise, wrong; tell me, what shall I do?" Of course we each do what our brain will allow us to do. "We will gain more by 'playing the game'"—no one ever has; we Irish tried a parliamentary party for some forty years and failed persistently, almost losing our soul. You cannot beat the Devil at his own game. And you stake your honor as well as your aims. No one has any intention of keeping the Free State—not Mr. Higgs himself. Neither the Irish nor the English can keep such a pact. Let us say so, now, while they try to plan it. Do not leave honor for another generation to keep. We are worthy now, let us save time.

Mr. Higgs speaks of "going to school to Belfast" and the English jibe at the "usual Celtic intransigency." There is no necessity for the side-thrust at Belfast. The trouble with Belfast is England. Let us stick to that name for our enemy. As to what the English will say—they are an efficient people and will say what will best fit their purpose. But the jibe doesn't enter the question that we are concerned with.

It is said we shall fail. Perhaps. We face failure either way, on every hand. We Irish, I mean, both Free State and Republic. (Lloyd George dealt the cards.) That was inevitable when we made the first truce. And just as we had to accept the truce, so now we must face failure. Civilization requires it. We are not excused from facing it because we see it. And brave men may and always will take a chance. Sometimes they win.

Mr. Higgs suggests that the future will do what we dare not. The future will inherit our sloth and cowardice and must conquer them before it conquers other enemies. Fail in the fight, if we must, the men of the future can go on; but give them the disciplined courage to go on with.

Will I choose strife for my people? Therein is the enemy's masterpiece. And Lincoln had to choose that too, conscious of the cost. And he so chose, you remember, to save the nation.

Paterson, N. J., May 10 NORA O'CONNOR

The Reactionary *Nation*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: By what right do you call yourself "the great independent national weekly" servilely basking in the praise of the hypocritical *Manchester Guardian?* It ought to warm the cockles of a radical's heart to see Art Young's cartoons in your intellectual sheet—it ought to divert a few dollars from the relief of Soviet Russia into subscriptions—but nay, nay. Before the battle of Warsaw it was you who printed Bertrand Russell's articles. In all the history of *The Nation* there has never been a clear, concise article dealing with the aims and plans of the workers in Russia. True, you have declared for amnesty for political prisoners, but of what use is your feeble little voice in making such a demand—especially when it stops its wail, when it is afraid it will lose a few conservative auditors? True, you talk against further holding of Haiti, but be honest. If the capitalist system is to survive, it must have raw countries to develop. Haiti is only a stepping-stone. The Orinoco and the Amazon basins should be taken next, Abyssinia, German Africa, and the Sahara ought to come our way also. Mexico and China—give us all these lands, or give us death to capitalism.

You know very well that these things mean a large army. You know that we must fight and fight hard. As Christ said, you cannot serve two masters. You certainly are no Bolshevik because you have never printed anything dealing with Russia written by anybody but prejudiced bourgeois. Then you must defend capitalism. Throw off your sheep's cloak and bare your fangs. Quit taking money under false pretenses. If we must have capitalism, give us Haiti and the rest. If we want something else, get down and suffer with the rest—don't pretend to be a friend of Hoover and labor at the same time.

Portland, Oregon, May 8 JACK HAYNES

How Progress Is Achieved

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Episcopal Church has recently decided to omit the word "obey" from the marriage service and to eliminate the giving away of the bride by her father, having evidently discovered that the young woman of today does not consider herself her father's property to be handed over, when the time comes, to another man whose property she in turn becomes and whom she is bound to obey. Some time ago the Methodist Church lifted the ban on theater-going and dancing. Young Methodists have been attending theaters and dances without any outward signs of shame for years. A dignitary of the Church of England not long ago announced that a good churchman might accept the theory of evolution and teach it to others if he felt so inclined.

This is very interesting and highly characteristic of the church. She has always displayed a wise and generous willingness to give her children permission to do the things they have already been doing. It reminds one of the following dialogue: "Sir, I want to marry your daughter." "Impossible! I won't hear of such a thing." "But she and I are already married." "My boy, I give my consent. Take her and be happy!" Could anything be more reasonable than that? The church moves along slowly, but let us not be impatient—she gets there in time. If the behavior of the people refuses to harmonize with the law, change the law so that it will harmonize with their behavior. Isn't that the secret of all law-making, in the home, the school, the church, the state?

Brooklyn, April 10 NORMAN H. HARNEY

Who Will Help?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you put this appeal in your paper? The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (6 rue du Vieux Collège, Geneva, Switzerland) is endeavoring to raise a number of $10 or $5 scholarships to enable a few German and Austrian students to attend its summer school to be held in northern Italy this summer. The results achieved at our vacation school at Salzburg last summer incline us to think that such scholarships are a good investment for friends of peace.

EMILY G. BALCH,
Secretary-Treasurer W. I. L. P. F.

Geneva, Switzerland, April 29

Howard Pyle

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am beginning to gather material for a study of the life and works of Howard Pyle. If, in some department of your paper, you could insert a note requesting that any persons who have letters or information of any kind in regard to Mr. Pyle communicate with me at Haverford College, I would be greatly indebted to you.

Haverford, Pennsylvania, April 10 CHARLES D. ABBOTT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

The Folly of the Wise

Peaceless Europe. By Francesco S. Nitti. London: Cassell & Company. 12s.

UNLESS "the moral unity of Europe and the solidarity of economic life can be restored," the future will show the ruin of vanquished and victors alike. "Europe must smile once more," and for this is necessary "the resumption not only of the language but of the ideas of peace." Such opinions are daily coming to be more generally held. Signor Nitti drives them home with a comprehensive survey of "the thirty states mutually diffident of each other, in a sea of programs and Balkan ideas," which today make up Europe, reinforcing the facts wherever possible by figures. Valuable in this way, his book suffers considerably from lack of form and repetition, and the English is in places obscure. He shows that Europe is decaying more owing to the peace treaties, "begotten in rancor and applied with violence," than as a result of the war. Allied faith has not been maintained. The pledges of the Entente have been forgotten together with Wilson's proclamations, "which, without being real contracts or treaties, were something far more solemn and binding, a pledge taken before the whole world at its most tragic hour to give the enemy a guaranty of justice." Morally, too, they are "immeasurably worse than any consummated in former days, in that they carry Europe back to a phase of civilization which was thought to be over and done with centuries ago."

Signor Nitti fully recognizes that, in their international relations, nations are governed, not by morality or justice, but by their sentiments and interests. No national interests are genuinely served, however, by the present state of affairs. Trade is stagnant, and can only revive if all countries, eschewing force, travel the same road in peace and amity. Far from this, "Europe has still more men under arms than in pre-war times," and since the war "the microbes of hate have developed and flourished in special cultures, consisting of national egotism, imperialism, and a mania for conquest and expansion," creating in most countries "an atmosphere which one may call unbreathable." For all this Signor Nitti chiefly blames France, which alone has "the greatest military force seen in modern times," and which "by reason of an error of exaltation has lost almost all the benefit of her victorious action." He enters sympathetically into the emotions of fear and panic which may have led her astray, but asks who, if she continues to alienate sympathy by her chauvinist policies, will willingly go to France's aid if by her excesses she provokes revenge? On the whole, he castigates all the belligerents fairly impartially, and might be considered exempt from national bias were it not for the fact that he never sp[illegible]mentions Tyrol. Though against military intervention i[illegible], he is sweeping in his condemnation of the Soviet Gove[illegible]t, and lays many evils at its door which should be more justly blamed on the economic blockade.

As for Germany, "what she has lost as a result of the treaty surpasses all imagination and can only be regarded as a sentence of ruin and decay voluntarily passed over a whole people. . . . Purely German territories have been forcibly wrenched from her. What has been done in the case of the Saar has no precedents in modern history." Not only have its coal-fields been assigned in perpetuity to France in compensation for "temporary damages done to the mines in the North," but its territory, which is purely German, "forms part of the French customs regime and will be subjected after fifteen years to a plebiscite." Just what that means has been illustrated in Upper Silesia. Of this latter effort to paralyze Germany by stripping her of her coal, Signor Nitti remarks: "The violation of the neutrality of Belgium was not an offense to a treaty more serious than this attempt. The Treaty of 1839 cannot be considered a *chiffon de papier* more than the Treaty of Versailles. Only the parties are inverted." Germany has further to bear for the support of the Allied troops of occupation "a charge equal to the cost of maintaining the armies of France, Italy, and Belgium before the war"; and has also to put up with "the Reparation Commission machine, a thing which has no precedent in any treaty, being a commission with sovereign powers to control the life of the whole of Germany."

Possibly the worst of all this is the callousness bred of it. "Nothing is more significant than the lack of conscience with which programs of violence and of ruin are lightly accepted; nothing is more deplorable than the thoughtlessness with which the germs of new wars are cultivated." Signor Nitti instances how the public in many countries have come to consider as yet unborn generations responsible for the war by the imposition of fantastic milliards of indemnity to be paid twenty or thirty years after. France is claiming, for the devastated regions alone, "very much more than double the private wealth of all the inhabitants of all the occupied regions." He demonstrates that neither France nor Italy, though victorious and aggrandized, have been able to pay even as much as the interest on their foreign debts. How then, he asks, can Germany, "having given up her colonies, her ships, her railway material, all her disposable credits abroad," pay far higher sums? He considers that she should pay an indemnity, but only in ratio to her powers. These he estimates lower than Mr. Keynes, and he would have the appropriated colonies calculated as part payment. "Germany's position," he repeatedly warns, "is bound up with that of Europe; her conquerors cannot escape dire consequences if the erstwhile enemy collapses." Signor Nitti calls, then, for a thorough revision of the treaties, preferably by a reorganized League of Nations, with reduction of the indemnities to figures within the bounds of reason; the abolition of the war-provocative Reparation Commission; withdrawal of Allied troops from German territories; and the cancelation for mutual benefit of all inter-Allied war debts.

The book contains no new documents of particular interest save for a letter from Mr. Lloyd George to the other makers of the treaty, printed for the first time in full, warning them against a vindictive peace. In the end, Signor Nitti and Mr. Lloyd George both pledged their countries to a peace which, from their own showing, they considered criminal. What pressure was M. Clemenceau able to bring to bear? That has not yet transpired. Signor Nitti has faith that if the League of Nations is enlarged to contain all countries, it will prove an effective instrument for public good, and that, so reconstituted, the revision of the treaties will be safe in its hands. But he does not suggest by what means the press-gang methods of the bigger Powers may be rendered inoperative when it comes to a decision affecting their own interests. For all his frankness, sincerity, and wide sympathies, Signor Nitti has the limitations of a statesman's mind, with its naive belief in the efficacy of political action and its instinctive pandering to the doctrine of expediency. These tendencies sometimes shorten his vision and make him curiously contradictory.

Strongly against war in principle, the Italian ex-minister makes, quite unconsciously, the most telling condemnation of it when he declares that in war time it is necessary and justifiable to fasten all the guilt upon your enemy, though you must render him the justice of impartial judgment afterwards. Mass psychology can hardly be expected to veer in that right-about-turn fashion, and the fact that wrong ideas once propagated, for whatever purpose, hold their sway, is one of the root causes of the world condition Signor Nitti so laments. The treaties and indemnification claims as they stand, for instance, rest on the assumption that Germany is exclusively responsible for the war. This, of course, is not his view, as it cannot be that of any one of impartial mind who has read the evidence. Though distributing the blame widely, he accords major shares to Russian and Prussian imperialisms. The whole matter can only be fairly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

adjudged by a neutral court of investigation, passing judgment on all the evidence attainable. Were such a tribunal truly impartial, it would be promptly repudiated by the victors. Truth has to dawn on men's minds; it cannot be drummed into them, even for their own good. In Signor Nitti's closing words: "Europe is still in the phase of doubt, but after the cries of hate and fury, doubt signifies a great advance. From doubt the truth may come forth." He is careful, too, to place the responsibility for the future where it belongs: "From now on it is not the chancelleries which must impose the solutions of great problems; but it is the mass of the public in Europe and America."

B. U. BURKE

Easy Essays

Modern Essays. Selected, with Prefatory Essay and Biographical Notes by Christopher Morley. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

THE informality of the essay is undoubtedly the chief virtue of this style of writing, at least in our day and age. It is the colloquial tang, the intimate note, that arises in the mind at the term "essay" although the reader should not forget that the range of this prose form stretches all the way from Sir Thomas Browne's Urn Burial to Stephen Leacock's The Decline of the Drama. So far can the outposts of the essay be set by a slight stretch of the imagination that any concise definition is impossible. It is easy enough to point out what an essay isn't. For instance, it isn't some of the articles that Mr. Morley includes in his anthology of "Modern Essays." But it is a rather pedantic and impossible task to point out what it is. Mr. Morley, in his introduction, states that "the essay is a mood rather than a form," which is only partially true. There certainly must be some form or the mood wouldn't be an essay. Again he states "the frontier between the essay and the short story is as imperceptible as is at present the once famous Mason and Dixon line." This is one outpost of Mr. Morley's conception of the essay. The other is apparent in the article which opens "Modern Essays" and which is nothing more or less than the first chapter of John Macy's "The Spirit of American Literature."

I am a little uncertain as to how far Mr. Morley should be permitted to stretch the limits of the essay. Like Stephen Leacock's rider Mr. Morley's definition leaps upon its horse and rides off in all directions at once. Isn't this rather destroying an admirable form that should be more circumscribed for its own success? Would Max Beerbohm agree with Mr. Morley that some of the material in "Modern Essays" comes under the essay classification and no other? It seems to me that an essay should be an essay and nothing else if it is to be considered successful. And therefore I must doubt that Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith's bits of Trivia, delectable as they are, or Mr. Macy's critical chapter, or Mr. Firkins's O. Henry, or Thomas Burke's vivid description of London's Russian quarter can properly be called essays. Rather do I feel inclined to point to Hilaire Belloc's The Mowing of a Field or Stephen Leacock's The Decline of the Drama or Max Beerbohm's A Clergyman as true examples of the essay form.

Having pointed out one objection to Mr. Morley's book there is still another that must be aired. And that is the howling, screaming pro-British bias that rises like a thick fog from the book. It is well enough for Mr. Morley to announce in his preface that the collection may be regarded as a small contribution to Anglo-American friendliness and that the essays are rather evenly divided between British and American hands. No fault is to be found with that. The objective is all right. But friendliness should not be encouraged through a suggestion of inferiority on the part of the Americans. And this is what Mr. Morley does when he opens his book with Mr. Macy's chapter from "The Spirit of American Literature." It was written in 1913 and for the most part is taken up with an attempt to prove that American literature is a branch of English literature. Then throughout the volume I constantly receive the impression that Mr. Morley likes English writers so much better than American writers. It must be admitted that the contents of the volume are rather evenly divided between American and British writers although two of the Americans, Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith and Louise Imogene Guiney, assuredly belong to the British tradition. So much for that.

The essays themselves touch all points of the zodiac. There is the sheer tomfoolery of Stephen Leacock and Robert Cortez Holliday and there is the undoubted wit and literary finesse of Max Beerbohm and Philip Guedalla. There are several pieces of straight literary criticism and there are a few examples of the genuine pathos that may be conveyed in an essay. For this last mood no better selection could have been made than Harry Esty Dounce's unaffected Some Nonsense About a Dog. The Americans stretch from Heywood Broun to James Branch Cabell. The Englishmen include such opposites as George Saintsbury and A. P. Herbert. Of course, William McFee, David W. Bone, and Logan Pearsall Smith are among those present.

The inclusion of O. W. Firkins arouses a faint wonder as to why both Mr. Mencken and the late James Huneker were not represented. Mr. Huneker, of course, has died, but so, too, has Rupert Brooke, who is represented in the volume by his description of Niagara Falls. Certainly either one of these men would give a better impression of the American literary essayist than Harry Morgan Ayres (present with America and the English Tradition) or Robert Palfrey Utter. As it is the Victorian side of the picture as exemplified by Stuart P. Sherman is brought forward while this professor's doughty antagonist, Mr. Mencken, is left in limbo.

All carping aside, however, the book is to be read and laid down with a sense of lively pleasure. It is one of those volumes that touches all moods. Mr. Morley has made famous "the bed books," the volume to be read leisurely enough while reposing between sheets, and it is to be suspected that in "Modern Essays" he has provided himself, and other readers too, with just this sort of a volume.

HERBERT S. GORMAN

The Period of Transition

A History of the United States. Vol. V: *The Period of Transition, 1815-1848.* By Edward Channing. The Macmillan Company. $4.

COMMENTING on Noah Webster's completion of his famous Dictionary in 1828, Mr. Channing says: "The picture of this solitary scholar perambulating the periphery of a table made in the form of a hollow circle and covered with dictionaries in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and all the known languages, working steadfastly for twenty-eight years at one object, and succeeding in his self-imposed task, is one of the most inspiring in the annals of American literary endeavor." Waiving the shape of the work-table, and substituting for the array of foreign dictionaries an astonishing accumulation of little known local histories, tracts, letters, pamphlets, addresses, and sermons, one could turn upon Mr. Channing with Horace's "De te fabula narratur." The Harvard "solitary scholar" has devoted more than a quarter of a century to the enormous task of writing the history of our country from the days of Columbus. In this fifth volume he reaches the close of the Mexican War, and is now diligently at work on the succeeding volume, to be entitled "The War for Southern Independence."

In the work before us Mr. Channing has made a radical departure from his former method. Instead of weaving the social and economic history into the text of his political narrative, he has devoted exactly the first half of his book to a survey of the means of transportation, the frontier communities, urban problems, early labor movements, the plantation system, religion,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

education, and literature in the first half of the nineteenth century. Only with Chapter IX (p. 307) does he take up the political story where he left it at the close of Volume IV, with the presidency of James Monroe.

The effect upon the reader is peculiar. He has the feeling of having studied two books in one, and the sense of meeting in the second book in detail and instance the same situations that he has been introduced to in a cursory fashion in the first. For example, The Westward March (coming down to the days illustrated by the Census of 1850) is described in Chapter II, and in Chapter XV we return to the subject, under the title Western Lands and Settlements After 1840. The main part of Chapter IV on The First Labor Movement is devoted to industrial conditions in the Jacksonian epoch, which is treated systematically nearly 300 pages further on. Professor Dew's defense of slavery in 1832 comes in the chapter on The Plantation System (p. 163), while the contemporaneous political agitation which was the result of that system is deferred till the chapter on South Carolina and Nullification (p. 404). Thomas Cooper appears on page 292 as "one of the most ardent advocates of States'-rights," and reappears on page 415 in the same role. The Mormons is the heading on page 237 and again on page 493. Whether it would be possible entirely to avoid this duplication in such an arrangement as Mr. Channing chooses is a question which the reviewer will not attempt to answer. He will only suggest that the student consult, as a wonderfully skilful essay of this sort, the first six chapters of Henry Adams's "History of the United States in the Administration of Jefferson and Madison."

The style of Mr. Channing's work is compact, declarative, straightforward, and plain. There is a certain Puritanical eschewal of the devices of rhetoric—the apostrophe, the neat antithesis, the arresting adjective. "I am no orator, as Brutus is, but as you know me all, a plain, blunt man." One has the sense of an heroic abbreviation in the text, with the constant reminder in the footnotes of the immense wealth of sources from which the extract has been distilled. Yet, at times, one is surprised by the elaboration of some small point or the exploitation of some minor person with a meticulous exhaustiveness which seems almost capricious.

Mr. Channing's laborious research has not led him, in the main issues, to conclusions differing essentially from those of his predecessors like Burgess and McMaster, although there are novel points of view and stimulating suggestions. It would be impossible, in the brief space of this review, to enter upon a criticism of these, but the student may be referred to the view of the compatibility of manufactures and slave-holding in the ante-bellum South (p. 74), of Jackson's influence on the Spoils System (p. 402), of the irreconcilable interests of the farmer and the banker (p. 435), of the causes of the Panic of 1837 (p. 455), and of the lost opportunity of a powerful and independent Texan empire (p. 530). It is significant, and, in the reviewer's opinion, highly gratifying, that an historian of the erudition and authority of Mr. Channing upholds the justice of the American cause and the righteousness of American conduct in the negotiations which led to the unfortunate war with Mexico (Chapter XVII), though he might well have disposed of the Campaign for Mexico City in less than a chapter and given the space to a fuller discussion of our Mexican diplomacy in 1845-46.

Slips are bound to occur even in the work of so painstaking and learned an historian as Mr. Channing. Fulton was by no means the first "to apply steam to the propulsion of boats" (p. 2); the South Carolina Ordinance nullified the tariff act of 1828 as well as that of 1832 (p. 429); it is premature to speak of "the Whigs" in the campaign of 1832 (p. 443), nor did the Whigs "put forward as their candidate General William Henry Harrison" in 1836 (p. 458); the Secretary of the Treasury is not "unlike all other executive officials" in reporting directly to Congress (p. 448), for the Postmaster General shares the same privilege. It is questionable whether Jackson knew in 1824 that John Quincy Adams had been his stout supporter in the Cabinet in 1818 (pp. 359, 424), or whether Crawford, "had he been well would probably have been elected" president in 1824 (p. 354), or whether Ralph Waldo Emerson was "the clearest thinker America has yet produced" (p. 304). Garrison has shown that Birney's inroad on the Whig vote in New York did not lose Clay the election of 1844 (p. 545), for Clay's letters probably won the electoral votes of Kentucky and Tennessee—and with those States Polk would still have won, even if Clay had carried New York and Michigan. Canning's "visible loss of interest" in the Monroe Doctrine (p. 344) could have been explained by Polignac's assurance in London that France would not intervene to help restore to Bourbon rule the revolting colonies of Spain in the New World. In these, and sundry other instances, we think that Mr. Channing has been tempted by too laconic a style into an incomplete, if not misleading, statement of important events.

DAVID SAVILLE MUZZEY

Globes

Terrestrial and Celestial Globes. Their History and Construction. Including a Consideration of Their Value as Aids in the Study of Geography and Astronomy. By Edward Luther Stevenson. Published for the Hispanic Society of America by the Yale University Press. 2 volumes. $12.

SUMPTUOUSLY and with exhaustive care has Mr. Stevenson discharged the task of collecting all available information about the construction of globes from the earliest antiquity till the end of the eighteenth century. His two volumes practically amount to a descriptive catalogue of all the globes known, with illustrations from photographs of most of them. His method, while excluding literary appeal, provides a mine of valuable information, most of it based on the work of the Italian Fiorini.

The theory that the earth was a globe emerges in European history as early as Pythagoras, though the reasons given for his belief by that philosopher do not seem conclusive. Aristotle advanced two scientific reasons for the globular hypothesis, one from the tendency of gravitating particles to form a sphere, one from the shadow of the earth on the moon. Strabo added a third argument from the appearance of ships rising at sea from the horizon, though the phenomenon itself had been observed by Homer, if one may draw any inference from his phrase, "the broad back of the sea." In the second century Ptolemy made a map of the world in a form intended to indicate a globe, a map which is very remarkable for the accuracy of its knowledge of Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, and which continued to be copied more or less by the cartographers of the next fourteen centuries, indeed for long after Columbus, in certain parts.

Though some interesting globes were made by the Arabs and medieval Europeans, it was not until the Renaissance that much advance can be noticed, and then came the three great centuries of globe-construction. From the day when Columbus broke the watery way to the West, and from that when Vasco da Gama unlocked the ocean doors of the gorgeous East, the imagination of Europe was riveted on the wonderful way of a ship in the sea, and on the new lands. Erasmus met and talked with a son of Columbus at Brussels in 1520; Luther, on the one hand, and Giustiniani, bishop of Nebbio, on the other, proclaimed that now was fulfilled the prophecy of Psalm XIX: "Their line is gone out through all the world, and their words to the end of the earth." How the little book of Americus Vespuccius's "Four Voyages" worked on the imaginations of Thomas More and Montaigne is known to everyone. Sir Thomas was indebted to the maps more than has been generally recognized; for he describes the island of Utopia as "a half-moon"—exactly the shape of America on the world map of Martin Waldseemüller, published in 1507—and some of the names of places in Utopia, over which scholars have cudgeled

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MEMORIAL LIBRARY

their brains in the search for Greek roots, seem to be really anagrams of names found in the same map of America. That More had this map before him is rendered more probable by the known fact that his friend Beatus Rhenanus had a copy, which has survived with his autograph.

Great artists also felt the compulsion to the time. Dürer is said to have constructed a very handsome celestial globe, here reproduced, and to have written instructions in globe-making. His interest in the subject may have been aroused by his friendship with Nicholas Kratzer, Henry VIII's Astronomer Royal. In addition to Dürer's letter to him there is extant in the Record Office a portion of Kratzer's correspondence which is well worth an investigation. There are also extant at Windsor Castle globe-gores attributed to Leonardo da Vinci. The genuineness of these is doubted by Mr. Stevenson, though accepted by the latest authority on Leonardo (C. J. Holmes, in "Proceedings of the British Academy," vol. 9, 1919). Other artists, if they did not make globes themselves, bore witness to the popular interest in them. Both in Holbein's picture of the French Ambassadors and in Rembrandt's Philosophers globes are depicted. The poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries bear witness to the same interest. How full of geography and of astronomy are the poems of Milton, for example!

One of the humanist geographers who gets rather less than his due from Mr. Stevenson is Henry Glarean. The original manuscript of his great map, perhaps the first in which the New World is called America, dated 1513, was sold in London by Sotheby & Co. in 1912. As fragments of Glarean's autobiography were discovered in 1917, it is possible that new light on his scientific work may yet be forthcoming.

Better than by anything else, perhaps, the interest of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in globes can be appreciated by an examination of some of their own constructions. Examine the two globes, terrestrial and celestial, attached to the Strassburg clock, completed in 1580. The latter showed 1,002 stars, and revolved so as to give their times of rising and of setting, and so as to show sidereal, as well as solar, time. Other calendars adjacent showed the lunar periods and the revolutions of the planets. Or, glance at the great globe of Tycho Brahe, the work of many years, so perfectly constructed that on it one could see the heavenly bodies depicted in their correct positions.

In Mr. Stevenson's work Mercator reaps his due harvest of glory, though he was soon to be outstripped by Peter Planck, whose splendid map of 1592 was thus described by a contemporary: "Here are set down more places, as well of both the Indies as Afrique, together with their true longitudes and latitudes, than are to be found in either Mercator, his map, or in any modern map whatsoever. And this map doth show what riches, power, or commodities, as what kind of beast both wild and tame, what plants, fruits or mines any region hath, and what kinds of merchandise do come from every region. Also the divers manners and qualities of the peoples, and to whom they are subject. Also the most mighty and greatest princes in the world. A map meet to adorn the house of any gentleman or merchant that delighteth in geography."

Nor were the celestial spheres behind the terrestrial. One, of twenty-three centimeters in diameter, constructed by Blaeu in 1602, exhibited the fifty constellations known to the ancients and ten more from the Southern Hemisphere, together with a "nova" labeled: "This star of stupendous magnitude which appeared in 1572 in the chair of Cassiopeia, has ceased to be bright."

One of the interesting suggestions made by Mr. Stevenson is that the words "from sea to sea" used in grants of land to American colonists, did not mean "from Atlantic to Pacific" but "from Atlantic to the Mare Septentrionale Americae," or great inland sea represented in the maps of Hondius as back of Chesapeake Bay, perhaps an imaginary extension of the vaguely reported Great Lakes, or even of Hudson Bay.

PRESERVED SMITH

The Comely Life

Adrienne Toner. By Anne Douglas Sedgwick. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.

GIVEN an American girl set down in the midst of an English society which she charms but which finds her in spite of all her manners strangely alien, and you have a situation which inevitably suggests the particular province of Henry James. Nor does the resemblance of Miss Sedgwick's novel to some of his by any means stop there. She has also James's almost fanatical preoccupation with the spiritual atmosphere which surrounds characters moving in a tacitly defined convention, and with people who, because their passions are disciplined and their positions secure, are forever removed from the harshest difficulties and can conduct life with the decorum of a fencing match that never degenerates into the disorganized brawl which is the most fitting image of the ordinary struggle for existence. Her latest novel, like the novels of James, is a plea for the ordered and comely life of a stable society, and though she has an acerbity foreign to him there is probably no other contemporary novelist who can pull his bow with a dexterity and strength so challenging.

Miss Sedgwick makes no bones of the fact that with a particular case she is making an attack upon American civilization or the lack of it, and that the minor dissonances which Adrienne produces and which are at first the substance of her offense are but indications of a profoundly alien spirit which comes with ignorant power and confidence to upset the delicate adjustments which make English social life possible. "Everything in her," says one of the characters, "is different. She has nothing—nothing with us, or we with her. We haven't done the same things or seen the same sights or thought the same thoughts. I hardly feel as if the trees could look the same to her as they do to us or the birds sound the same. And she'll want such different things."

Adrienne is tremendously rich, tremendously confident, and tremendously benevolent, inheriting from her self-made father her capacity, and from her vaguely mystical mother who traveled with a yogi an untested faith in human nature and a solemn culture untried by irony. She bestows gifts just too precipitately upon new acquaintances or she dodges issues with a quotation just too bland, and Miss Sedgwick hammers upon these false notes until the reader blushes with shame. But her purpose is not merely derision. She would convince us that this conduct is a sinister symptom of an impulse to meddle and to manage with the assurance of inexperience. Says Oldmeadow, the raisonneur of the novel: "It is something bred into them by the American assumption of the fundamental rightness of life; a confidence unknown before in the history of the world. . . . Perhaps it will menace us. . . . It will be faith without experience against experience without faith." Oldmeadow sees Adrienne, that is, not merely as the product of an alien tradition as the other speaker had done, but sees her as the challenge of unsophisticated directness to the English compromise. And he is right. She cuts knots while the others admire their complexity.

Miss Sedgwick breaks Adrienne before she will accept her, and it is too much to expect that admiration for the novelist's skill should conquer wholly the irritation produced by her wholesale condemnation of ourselves. Her revulsion in the face of an alien temperament is almost panic, and it springs partly from Adrienne's refusal to accept without testing the conventions of English society as the laws of nature, and from her inclination to take for the shadows which they are some of those nice lines which the English like to believe solid walls. She refuses when fundamental things are at stake to play the game of life like a game of chess, and she breaks rules to win. At bottom our judgment of her rightness or wrongness will depend not upon our recognition of her cultural unripeness but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon the value which we place upon the comely life, upon order and continuity at the expense of more passionate qualities. There is no doubt as to some of Adrienne's insufficiencies, but, to carry the battle into the enemy's country, there is doubt as to her hosts' sufficiency. They would reduce the world to a formal garden and they hesitate to admit that there are sacrifices of aspiration and passion too great to be made in the interests of comeliness.

It is easy to disassociate the issue from the crudities of Adrienne's character, for others might have acted as she did. She precipitated the climax by aiding Meg, the younger sister of her husband, to make a bolt with a married lover, and she is repudiated by husband and friends because she has committed the unforgivable sin of producing a rupture in the pattern and disturbing the orderly current of life. It is true that there is a theatrical quality in Adrienne's defense of freedom and passion, but it is equally true that there is timidity and spiritual death in the others' defense of safety and decorum. Meg herself, when she finds a life outside the circles of rectory teatables unendurable, repudiates her, but it seems to me that the fault lies with Meg's triviality rather than with Adrienne's assumption that she was not trivial. Says the mother: "Adrienne only wants people to be brave and follow their light; but your light needn't be a married man, need it? And sometimes I think it isn't *really* serious—falling in love, you know. I'm sure I thought *I* was in love half a dozen times before Francis proposed. It's a question of seeing what's best for you all around, isn't it, and it can't be best if it's a married man, can it?"

That is really the only defense of the orderly life. It is based upon the conviction that the impulses to adventure, aspiration, and love are vicious propensities which society should organize out of existence and that safety and comfort are the true goods. The final defense of the comely life is thus its final damnation: it protects and breeds the trivial soul.

J. W. Krutch

Drama

The Generations

A Family Man. By John Galsworthy. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.

EVER since the day on which Captain Schwartze drove his recalcitrant daughter Magda out of the house the modern drama has been the battle-ground of fathers and children. The theme became almost stereotyped in such plays as Stanley Houghton's "The Younger Generation"; in the works of the post-war expressionists it became an accusation of a monstrous kind, and in Hasenclever's "Der Sohn" and its numerous progeny symbolical patricide is the common order of the day. It goes without saying that Mr. Galsworthy has avoided the violence of these Continentals. He sticks closely to that imitation of reality—in the plain meaning of the phrase—which is at the core of the most beautiful and the most nourishing art. But his subject is the same as Hasenclever's. If his method is more subdued, his intention is no less pointed and severe.

There is no question of borrowing or imitation among the dramatists in many lands who have attempted to treat this single subject. The serious drama follows patterns very closely woven into the actual stuff of reality. Art and especially the art of the drama is, to alter the Shelleyan verses, the eye with which man's world beholds itself and knows itself for what it is. If there are many conflicts between parents and children in the modern drama it is because that conflict smolders or burns in nearly every house. And that is natural enough. Crises in the history of human civilization must be humanly embodied; every household is a Janus—one face is turned to the past, one to the future. The home is not by accident or through guilt, but necessarily, a battle-ground and does not nearly so often harbor peace as sheathe a sword. Today, as for thirty years past, the conflict is, amid its very varying terms, the same: the old stand for dogma, compulsion, security; the young, denying dogma, denying that compulsion makes for security, demand reason, freedom, the experimental life.

It cannot be said that Mr. Galsworthy has added either a new idea or even a new complication to his theme. There are a tyrannous father, two rebellious daughters, an unresigned wife. As a household tyrant the principles and even the methods of John Builder of Breconridge in the Midlands are essentially identical with those of Captain Schwartze of Königsberg in East Prussia. Mr. Galsworthy, of course, surpasses Sudermann immeasurably in psychological finesse, in firmness and sobriety of touch, in insight, and in vision. If he has not added a new fable or idea to the drama he has drawn a magnificent portrait of a subject which many have attempted. The record he has made of this type is complete and final, delicate and massive at once.

With that cool yet merciful precision which is Mr. Galsworthy's great virtue of both mind and technique, he has laid bare the secret which made John Builder the self-tormentor and the tyrant that he was. The man, like poor Henry Clegg in St. John Ervine's excellent play, had never identified his will with the moral order which he obeyed in his outward acts and strove by every means in his power to uphold. Obedience to that moral order meant, he knew, public consideration. Hence he thought that it ought also to result in private peace—peace both in his bosom and in his home. The fact that it does not confuses him, maddens him, drives him to cruelty and rage. His virtue is so unrewarded. Yet note its extent in the inimitable scene with the little French temptress. "No!" Builder exclaims. "If you thought it a sin—I—might. But you don't; you're nothing but a—a little heathen." The little sister of Ferrand answers: "The English 'ave no idea of pleasure. They make it all so coarse and virtuous." Builder feels that he has done his utmost and won a moral victory. His victory is despised; his wife tells him she is tired of being "a wet blanket." She is contemptuous. Yet did he *not* do his utmost? No wonder he roars: "A very little more of this liberty—license I call it—and there isn't a man who'll be able to call himself head of a family!" His daughters flee. His wife returns; her pity for him in his defeat is also her refuge. He sits in the dusk a little abashed, a little broken, but without any light in his mind. There is pathos in the man. So often you cannot convince people; you can only hurt them. But that is of the nature of the life-process itself. It is his close knowledge of that fact that makes Mr. Galsworthy, despite his soothing touch and gentle literary ways, a tragic dramatist.

Ludwig Lewisohn

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Among the contents of the *Summer Book Number,* out next week, are articles by Louis Untermeyer, Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, Henry Raymond Mussey, Henrietta Straus, Maxwell Bodenheim, and others; articles, reviews, and notes on the life and literature of Russia, Germany, England, Spain, Italy, France, Belgium, Norway, the Arctic, Argentina, the United States, and other countries.

In The Nation *for June 7. Do not miss it.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Life of Donald G. Mitchell

[Ik Marvel]

By WALDO H. DUNN

The authorized biography of the author of REVERIES OF A BACHELOR and DREAM LIFE.

Illustrated. $4.50

Songs Out of Doors

By HENRY VAN DYKE

An exquisite little pocket volume containing Dr. van Dyke's poems of the open.

$1.00

The New Heavens

By GEORGE ELLERY HALE

"As fascinating as a novel. . . . Worth any three courses in astrophysics."—*New York Tribune.*

With striking illustrations

$1.50

The Well-Considered Garden

By MRS. FRANCIS KING

A new edition of an American gardening classic, in more compact form, with a new preface and additional chapters.

Illustrated. $2.00

Aspects and Impressions

By EDMUND GOSSE

In these delightful papers the English Sainte-Beuve is at his best.

$3.00

Railroads and Government

By FRANK HAIGH DIXON

$2.75

The Americanization of Edward Bok

EIGHTEENTH PRINTING

$3.00

My Memories of Eighty Years

By CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

"I have found great inspiration in your book."—PRESIDENT HARDING.

"A book pervaded by a spirit of optimism and written by a man of sense."—JUDGE WILLARD BARTLETT in the *New York Herald.*

"There is entertainment everywhere in this book."—SIDNEY WILLIAMS in the *Philadelphia North American.*

$4.00

The Revolt Against Civilization

By LOTHROP STODDARD

Author of THE RISING TIDE OF COLOR *and* THE NEW WORLD OF ISLAM

The mechanism of civilization has passed the comprehension of great masses of men, and they, like the barbarian, hate it and wish to tear it down.

$2.50

The Memoirs of the Crown Prince of Germany

This is a social and historical narrative of supreme importance. It is incomparably the most significant, as well as the most surprising, record that has come from a German source since the war.

Illustrated. $5.00

The Minds and Manners of Wild Animals

By WILLIAM T. HORNADAY

Author of OUR VANISHING WILD LIFE, *etc.*

"The wild animal must think or die," declares this eminent naturalist. The book, which gives a clear understanding of animal intelligence, is the result of the author's own observations.

Illustrated. $2.50

The Cowboy

By PHILIP ASHTON ROLLINS

A breezy record of the "old" West, now almost faded from existence. The cowboy is here treated as the important factor in the social and political development of the United States that he really was.

$2.50

The Crisis of the Churches

By LEIGHTON PARKS, D.D.

The rector of Saint Bartholomew's Church, New York, seeks to find a basis for church unity.

"Not one sentence in the book is an evasion of dangerous ground."—*The Churchman.*

$2.50

The Open Spaces

By JOHN C. VAN DYKE

Author of THE DESERT, THE MOUNTAIN, *etc.*

"Never were vicarious loiterings through No Man's Land more enthralling than these through the hunting and fishing grounds of Minnesota, Montana, Colorado, Wyoming, and Dakota, California, and Arizona."—*Boston Transcript.*

$2.00

A Daughter of Napoleon

These are the memoirs of EMILIE DE PELLAPRA, PRINCESS DE CHIMAY, a daughter of Napoleon by the beautiful Madame de Pellapra of Lyons.

Illustrated. $2.00

Lord Byron's Correspondence

EDITED BY JOHN MURRAY

"The importance of these two volumes cannot be overestimated."—*New York Times.*

In two volumes. $8.50

The Craft of Fiction

By PERCY LUBBOCK

"The best book that has been written on the novel."

—*Literary Review, New York Evening Post.*

$3.00

The Forsyte Saga

By JOHN GALSWORTHY

"Every one interested either in modern literature or modern life should own a copy."

—WM. LYON PHELPS.

$2.50

The Beautiful and Damned

By F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

"Fulfills the magnificent promise of THIS SIDE OF PARADISE."—*Chicago Daily News.*

$2.00

Where Your Treasure Is

By JOHN HASTINGS TURNER

A delightful new romance by the author of SIMPLE SOULS.

$1.75

The Unspeakable Gentleman

By J. P. MARQUAND

Pure romance, to be read for the sheer joy of the reading.

$1.75

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MEXICO

The TREASURE HOUSE of the WORLD

Second International Commercial Exposition

MEXICO CITY
SEPTEMBER, 1922

Endorsed by the

Mexican Chamber of Commerce of the U. S., Inc.

and every Chamber of Commerce in Mexico

Mexico offers an unlimited field for business in the period of reconstruction. She is in the market for practically every article produced by American manufacturers, and her currency is at par.

No greater opportunity exists today for the development of new business for American producers. Mexico bought more than $250,000,000 worth of goods from the United States in 1921. It is certain that next year's importations will be greatly in excess of that amount.

Now is the time to obtain a business foothold in this richest of countries.

For information apply to

EXPOSICIÓN COMERCIAL INTERNACIONAL, S. A.

750 Woolworth Bldg. NEW YORK **1604 No. American Bldg. CHICAGO**

LONGMANS' New Publications

MOUNT EVEREST: The Reconnaissance, 1921
By Lieut.-Colonel C. K. HOWARD-BURY and Members of the Everest Expedition.
With Illustrations and Maps. $7.50 net.

This volume is of world-wide interest, describing as it does the first great piece of exploration attempted since pre-war days, and the expedition will doubtless rank with the classic Arctic and Continental achievements that have made landmarks in the annals of discovery.

BRITISH HISTORY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN
With Maps. $3.75 net.

The chief theme of this work is social evolution as caused by economic change and in turn causing political change. Throughout, the story is grouped largely round the chief personalities of the period.

A History of Ireland from the Earliest Times down to the Present Date

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE IRISH PEOPLE
By MARY HAYDEN and C. A. MOONAN
$7.00 net.

"A philosophical and comprehensive treatment of Ireland's story. It does provide what has hitherto been lacking, a reliable history of Ireland."—New York Evening Post.

"A comprehensive History of the Irish people, not only politically, but industrially, socially, intellectually."—New York Tribune.

ORGANIZED PRODUCE MARKETS
By JOHN GEORGE SMITH, M. A., Assistant Professor of Commerce, University of Birmingham.
$4.00 net.

A book for business men and students which describes the organization and trading methods of the produce markets of the world.

MODERN PRACTICE IN HEAT ENGINES
By TELFORD PETRIE, M.Sc.
$5.00 net.

The subject of power from heat engines is dealt with as a whole, and the author shows how far theory may be applied to the design of modern types.

Science in the Service of Man:
ELECTRICITY
By S. G. STARLING, A.R.C.Sc.
$3.50 net.

Written for the general reader, this book gives an account of the present stage of electrical knowledge. After a brief historical sketch the industrial applications are dealt with, followed by descriptions of the less technical branches of electrical work. The treatment is entirely non-mathematical.

A DICTIONARY OF APPLIED CHEMISTRY
By Sir EDWARD THORPE, C.B., LL.D., F.R.S.
New and Revised Edition.
Vol. III (Explosives-Kyrofin) is now ready. Price $20 net.

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., *Publishers*
55 Fifth Avenue New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

The $5,000,000 Loan to Liberia

THE following text of an agreement signed at Washington, October 28, 1921, by Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State, for the United States, and President C. D. B. King, and others, for Liberia, authorizing a $5,000,000 loan from our Government to the Government of Liberia, is taken from the file of correspondence transmitted by Mr. Hughes to the House Committee considering a joint resolution authorizing the loan. The circumstances which led to this agreement are recited in an editorial article printed elsewhere in this issue of *The Nation*. Some of the less significant portions of the long text have been summarized; this is indicated by the use of square brackets.

Whereas the Government of Liberia has undertaken a reorganization and rehabilitation of its finances; and

Whereas the President of the United States has recommended to the Congress of the United States the enactment of a joint resolution whereby the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to establish a credit of $5,000,000 for the Government of Liberia . . .

The two Governments . . . have agreed upon an arrangement for that purpose in the following terms:

ARTICLE 1. The Government of Liberia shall request the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States to make to the Government of Liberia against the credit of $5,000,000 above mentioned the following advances . . . and shall also request the President of the United States to designate the members of a financial commission of Liberia, to be appointed and to serve as hereinafter provided. The head of the financial commission shall be known as the financial commissioner of Liberia. . . . The advances which shall be requested by the Government of Liberia shall be as follows:

1. $30,000 or such less amount as shall be sufficient to enable the Government of Liberia to repay the advances heretofore made to it by the Secretary of Treasury of the United States . . . and the interest thereon.

2. [The amount by which all the revenues and receipts of Liberia shall, in each of the five fiscal years ending on or before September 30, 1926, fall below the total of (a) the costs of the financial commission, and (b) the budgeted administrative expenses of Liberia, which shall not in any year exceed $560,000.] Should there be after the expiration of the said five fiscal years ending September 30, 1926, need to guarantee the expenditure stated in paragraphs (a) and (b) a new arrangement shall be made between the Government of Liberia and the Government of the United States.

3. [$233,000 for the internal funded debt, and interest due thereon.]

4. [$350,000 for the internal floating debt.]

5. $1,650,000, or such less amount as may be necessary for the purpose of enabling the Government of Liberia to purchase or redeem all of its bonds now issued and outstanding, representing the 5 per cent sinking-fund loan due July 1, 1952, under the agreement for refunding loan dated March 7, 1912, between the Republic of Liberia, of the first part, and J. P. Morgan and Co., Kuhn, Loeb and Co., the National City Bank of New York, and First National Bank of New York, acting for themselves and for Robert Fleming and Co., Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, M. M. Warburg and Co., and Hope and Co., and for others, of the second part. . . . Advances for this purpose shall be made at such times and in such amounts as shall be determined by the Secretary of State of the United States. It is understood that the Secretary of State of the United States may determine the best method for acquiring part or all of the aforesaid bonds but in no event shall more than par and accrued interest be paid therefor.

6. Such amounts as may be necessary to enable the Government of Liberia to make improvements in transportation and communication facilities, sanitation, and other public works, in accordance with plans which shall have received the approval of the financial commission. A statement of all proposed public works to be undertaken during any fiscal year of the Government of Liberia, including the amounts to be expended thereon, shall, after consulting the Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia, be prepared by the financial commission and submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia to be included in the annual budget hereinafter mentioned. Any item or items of said statement of proposed public works to which objection may be made by the Government of Liberia shall be referred to the Secretary of State of the United States, together with such comments thereon as the Government of Liberia and the financial commission may desire to make, and the opinion of the Secretary of State of the United States on the item or items at issue shall be invited. Such opinion, when given, shall be binding alike on the Government of Liberia and the financial commission. . . .

7. An advance of an emergency nature of $348,000, or such less amount as may be required in order to enable the Government of Liberia to begin the immediate execution of the present plan; such advance to be deposited with the fiscal agent at the disposal of the financial commissioner, who shall withdraw not more than $80,000 thereof for the traveling expenses of the members of the financial commission and for their salaries while in transit; not more than $8,000 thereof for stationery and office supplies of the financial commission, and not more than $260,000 thereof to permit the immediate undertaking of public works. . . .

ART. 2. [Advances shall be made against obligations of the Government of Liberia, bearing interest payable quarterly at the rate of 5 per cent per annum. These advances shall be paid to a fiscal agent in the United States designated by the Secretary of State of the United States, who shall make payments in the United States where proper or transmit to Liberia. If the revenues of Liberia exceed the expenses of the financial commission and the budgeted administrative expenses of Liberia, one-half of such surplus shall be paid to the United States on account of principal. The advances made shall be tax exempt in Liberia.]

ART. 3. The advances shall constitute a direct liability and obligation of Liberia which undertakes to incorporate in its annual budget an amount sufficient to meet in full the service of such advances, including all expenses and remuneration of the depositary and the fiscal agent in the United States.

ART. 4. [The principal and interest of the United States loan shall be secured as a charge on all customs revenues payable to the Government of Liberia; on all revenues from the rubber tax, head money, and postal revenues, and on all other revenues, including claims due the Government of Liberia from the "property of aliens who were enemies of the Republic of Liberia during the late war or the proceeds of the sale of such property." "The Government of Liberia grants, assigns, and transfers the assigned revenues and receipts and all thereof as security for the United States loan."]

ART. 5. The Government of Liberia further engages:

1. That for the purpose of securing the United States loan the control during the life of the United States loan of the collection, application, and administration of all the assigned revenues and receipts in accordance with the present plan shall be vested in the financial commission, the administration of which shall be under the direction of the financial commissioner or, during his absence, of the next ranking member of the finan-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cial commission. The financial commission shall be composed of a financial commissioner, at a salary of $15,000 per annum; a deputy financial commissioner, at $10,000 per annum; an auditor, at $6,000 per annum; three administrative assistants of Class I at $6,000 per annum, to be assigned, respectively, as controller general of customs, commissioner general of the interior, and director general of sanitation; ten administrative assistants of Class II, at $4,000 per annum, to be assigned, respectively, as follows: Three controllers of customs, three district commissioners, two technical advisers (roads and ports), an accountant, and an agricultural adviser; and two administrative assistants of Class III, at $3,000 per annum, to be assigned, respectively, as follows: One postal-revenue officer and one clerk-assistant. All members of the financial commission shall be designated by the President of the United States, to serve during his pleasure, and shall be appointed by the President of Liberia. . . . The members of the financial commission shall be granted by the Government of Liberia such immunity, in so far as they may be subjected to arrest or to civil or criminal process of the Liberian courts, as shall leave them unimpeded and unembarrassed in the discharge of their official duties, except in instances wherein the President of Liberia and the financial commissioner agree that this immunity shall be waived. . . .

All Liberian officials who may be appointed by the Government of Liberia to serve in connection with the collection, application, and administration of the assigned revenues and receipts shall serve under the financial commission. Any such official may be suspended for cause, without pay, by the financial commissioner, who may also temporarily fill vacancies thus created until such vacancies are filled by regular appointment. The Government of Liberia shall consult with the financial commissioner before appointing officials to serve under the financial commission.

The Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia and the financial commission shall cooperate to bring order and system into the finances of the Government of Liberia. The financial commission shall prescribe for the Republic of Liberia and for any subdivision thereof or general or local governmental authority such methods, rules, and regulations for the collection, application, and administration of the assigned revenues and receipts as it may deem necessary, and the Government of Liberia shall fix penalties not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of Liberia for the violation of such rules and regulations as the financial commission may prescribe. . . .

2. That . . . the Government of Liberia, upon the request of the financial commission, shall make by law appropriate provisions for placing and maintaining at the disposal of the financial commission an adequate revenue guard and patrol service both on land and sea, and the expenses of such revenue guard and patrol service shall be paid by the financial commission out of the assigned revenues and receipts. The duties of the revenue guard and patrol service may with the approval of the financial commission be performed by the frontier force hereinafter mentioned. . . .

3. That . . . the Government of Liberia shall maintain a frontier force sufficient for the maintenance of internal peace within the territories of Liberia. . . . The strength of the frontier force shall be fixed by agreement between the Government of Liberia and the financial commission and it shall not be increased or reduced in numbers without the assent of the financial commission. Four officials of military experience, to be designated by the President of the United States and to serve during his pleasure, shall be appointed as the four senior officers of the frontier force, which shall be as follows: One major, at a salary of $4,200 per annum, and three captains at $3,500 each per annum. Such officers shall serve in the frontier force during the life of the United States loan. The Secretary of State of the United States may, if deemed advisable by the financial commission, suggest a definite scheme for the reorganization of the frontier force to be prepared by the War Department of the United States.

4. That . . . the Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia shall from time to time hereafter, in accordance with such recommendations as the financial commissioner may make after consulting with him, prepare and submit to the legislature for enactment into law a draft of a bill revising the customs duties and other revenues and receipts of the Government of Liberia. . . .

5 That the Government of Liberia shall not during the life of the United States loan enact any legislation which may prejudicially affect the finances, revenues, or resources of Liberia, and the Government of Liberia shall consult the financial commission with regard to all proposed legislation, before its enactment, which may in any way affect such finances, revenues, or resources. If, after the consultation herein provided, the Government of Liberia enacts legislation which the financial commission has stated in writing to the Government of Liberia would, in the opinion of the financial commission, prejudicially affect the finances, revenues, or resources of Liberia, an explanation of such action, by the Government of Liberia, and also a report thereon by the financial commission, shall be furnished to the Secretary of State of the United States for his information and consideration. . . .

6. [That the Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia shall prepare an annual budget meeting all expenses of the financial commission and of Liberian administration.] The proposed budget, when so prepared and approved by the financial commission, shall be submitted to the Legislature of Liberia by the Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia for enactment. . . . The financial commission shall not without the consent of the Secretary of State of the United States approve any proposed budget or appropriation act in which the current expenses of the Government of Liberia, including the expenses of the financial commission and of the collection, application, and administration of the assigned revenues and receipts shall exceed in the aggregate the sum of $560,000 per annum. . . .

7. That all revenues and receipts of the Government of Liberia, except as hereinafter provided, shall be deposited in a bank designated as the depositary. . . . If it shall at any time be deemed advisable by the Secretary of State of the United States the Government of Liberia shall establish a national bank to be known as the Bank of Liberia, and to be incorporated with funds supplied from the United States loan, which shall then be the government depositary for all government funds and revenues as prescribed by the financial commission. This bank if established shall have a charter drawn up by the Federal Reserve Board of the United States and approved by the Government of Liberia and shall be administered during the life of the United States loan by the financial commission.

8. That the financial commission and all members thereof are hereby granted all power and authority necessary for the performance of their duties hereunder. The Government of Liberia shall forthwith enact all legislation necessary to confirm said power and authority in the financial commission and shall give them all needful aid and support and full protection. . . .

ART. 6. [Revenues shall be applied first to the expenses of the financial commission, then to the budgeted administrative expenses of Liberia, then to payment of interest on the United States loan, and if there be a surplus, one-half of it shall be applied to payment of the principal of the loan and the other half "to the payment of any other amounts which the financial commission may, by further agreement between the Government of the United States and the Government of Liberia, be required to pay." If anything still remain over one-half of it goes to a "surplus account" subject to the sole order of the Government of Liberia, the other half to an "improvements account" subject to the approval of the financial commission.]

ART. 7. [Nothing in this plan shall be construed as creating

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

any obligation in favor of any present bondholder of Liberia; and any claims not discharged by the provisions of Article 1, paragraphs 3, 4, and 5, "shall be submitted to a claims commission composed of the Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia, the auditor, and the financial commissioner," whose decision shall be final.]

ART. 8. In construing the present plan the life of the United States loan shall be deemed to be the period from the date hereof until all the advances made by the Government of the United States to the Government of Liberia pursuant to the present plan shall have been fully repaid with interest and all other undertakings on the part of the Government of Liberia in the obligations representing said advances and in the present plan contained shall have been satisfied.

ART. 9. (1) Until the Government of Liberia has repaid the whole amount of the advances and other expenses incident to the service of the United States loan no floating debt shall be created and no loan for any purpose shall be made except with the written approval of the financial commission.

2. No concession or franchise or amendment of any existing concession or franchise shall be granted by the Legislature of Liberia or by any other branch of the Government of Liberia until after it shall have been favorably reported upon by the financial commission. . . .

3. In case of malfeasance in office, neglect of duty, or inefficiency on the part of any American official or employee of the financial commission or the frontier force the Government of Liberia reserves the right to request his dismissal of the Secretary of State of the United States. . . . With the exception of the financial commissioner and such other member of the financial commission as may be acting as financial commissioner any American official or employee of the financial commission or the frontier force may be temporarily suspended for cause by the Government of Liberia with the concurrence of the financial commissioner or the officer acting in his stead. . . . The Government of Liberia pledges itself to inflict prompt and adequate punishment upon any Liberian civil or military official who may be guilty of misconduct or malfeasance in office and upon all others who may be guilty of misconduct.

4. The Government of Liberia shall request the advice of the Secretary of State of the United States before appointing any purchasing agents or agent of the Government of Liberia whether abroad or in Liberia.

ART. 10. The Government of Liberia hereby consents that the terms of the agreement for the refunding loan of 1912 and of the fiscal agency agreement of 1912 shall be deemed modified in accordance with the present plan.

ART. 11. [The Liberian Government shall enact the necessary enabling legislation.]

ART. 12. [The plan shall take effect upon approval by the President of the United States of the joint Congressional resolution approving the $5,000,000 loan.]

Done at Washington this 28th day of October, 1921,

C. D. B. KING,
President of the Republic of Liberia,
Plenary Commissioner of Liberia

CHARLES E. HUGHES,
Secretary of State of the United States

Any change of address

should be mailed to our Subscription Department at least two weeks before it is to become effective. This will insure uninterrupted delivery of *The Nation* to you, and will materially lessen the pressure of work in our office.

When notifying us be sure to give both old and new addresses and stipulate the exact date upon which you desire the change made.

SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT

20 Vesey Street **The Nation** New York, N. Y.

LIEBER & LEWIS 27 Vandewater St., N.Y.

CALVARY By OCTAVE MIRBEAU

"TAKES one into a literary atmosphere that has . . . whiffs of Dickens as well as whiffs of 'Wuthering Heights.' . . . It is all romance . . . Juliette Roux is . . . a symbol of the sin of the world."—*LUDWIG LEWISOHN in The Nation.* "He is worth analyzing."—*Literary Review.* "There is undeniable power and accuracy of observation in the book."—*N. Y. Herald.*

MR. ANTIPHILOS, SATYR

By REMY DE GOURMONT

"DELICATELY incisive. . . . He lets the modern world of morals pass under the eyes of a faun. . . . Beautiful as clear water. . . ."—*LUDWIG LEWISOHN.* "We recommend MR. ANTIPHILOS, SATYR."—*N. Y. Tribune.* "A cynical idyll. . . . A dreamer of dreams he is, but they are dreams with a punch behind the spring fever of fleecy clouds and buxom lasses."—*Brooklyn Eagle.*

$2.00 each at all booksellers.

Six Company Steel Merger

"Not a Combination in Restraint of Trade"

Midvale	Brier Hill	Inland
Steel & Tube	Republic	Youngstown

What May Holders Expect?

Attractive cash offering, or valuable rights?

A comprehensive resume of the Merger Situation and Market Possibilities of above issues may be had upon request.

Ask for NN-5

E. M. FULLER & CO.

ESTABLISHED 1915

Members Consolidated Stock Exchange of New York

50 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK

Hotel Theresa, 7th Ave. and 125th St.

Newark—843 Broad Street

Branch Offices in Principal Cities Connected by Private Wires

Do You Want to Send Your Children

WHERE they can enjoy the benefits and pleasures of outdoor life?

WHERE they can learn craftsmanship, gardening, nature study, hiking, boating and swimming?

WHERE their diet and health will be supervised by a registered nurse?

WHERE they are under the personal direction of experienced instructors?

HOUSATONIC CAMP

Foothills of the Berkshire, Canaan, Conn.

For full information, address Laura B. Garrett (Until June 15), 529 West 138th St., New York City.

Telephone Audubon 9289

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Whatever book you want

Wanamaker's

has it, or will get it

NEW YORK and PHILADELPHIA

IS PHILOSOPHY WORTH WHILE?

If it is scientific, yes. If only speculative and metaphysical, no. Here are three worth-while works:

The Positive Outcome of Philosophy, by Joseph Dietzgen. (This is the volume containing "The Nature of Human Brain Work" and "Letters on Logic.") Cloth, $1.50.

The Poverty of Philosophy, by Karl Marx, a satire and an analysis in which historical fact and science expose the fallacies of philosophers and metaphysicians. Cloth, $1.25.

Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring), by Frederick Engels. Cloth, $1.25.

Mailed on receipt of price. Ask for new catalog.

Charles H. Kerr & Company, 347 East Ohio Street, Chicago

Chatham Colony Assn., Inc., and Modern School

Invites radical minded men and women to join the Colony. Magnificent place, within commuting distance—24½ miles on the D. L. W. R. R., Chatham Station. For particulars write to B. Somer, 1517 Washington Ave., N. Y. C.

GERMAN BOOKS NEW and OLD

Large, Representative Stock, at

BEYER'S BOOKSHOP

207 FULTON ST., Opp. Terminal, Upstairs, NEW YORK

FRENCH AND SPANISH BOOKS

Zabala & Maurin

have removed to larger premises where they have a large and varied stock at the disposal of old and new customers, 5 West 47th Street.

THE RUSSIAN INN

57 WEST 37TH STREET, BET. 5TH & 6TH AVENUES

The Only Russian Restaurant in New York

TABLE D'HOTE LUNCHEON AND DINNER

Russian Afternoon Tea *Also A la Carte*

MANUSCRIPTS prepared for publication. Scholarly copy-editing, proofreading; compiling. Advice and help in research and the publishing of books and articles. S. W. SIMPSON, 414 Eighth Avenue, N. Y. City

SPEAKERS: We assist in preparing special articles, papers, speeches, debates. Expert scholarly service. AUTHORS RESEARCH BUREAU, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York.

WURLITZER

TRADE MARK REG.

REPRODUCING GRAND PLAYER PIANOS

CATALOG SENT FREE

CINCINNATI NEW YORK, 120 WEST 42ND ST. CHICAGO

TO RENT: A charming fourth story apartment in Munich from July to September, four rooms (four beds), kitchen and bath, $6. a day. Cook supplied if desired. Recommended by the Editor of The Nation. Address "M. P." Landtagsgebaeude, Munich.

BEYOND MARRIAGE

A pamphlet. Price 25 cents

Address: JOHN VEIBY, BOX 294, SOUTH BEND, INDIANA

"BELL SYSTEM"

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

One Policy, One System, Universal Service, and all directed toward Better Service

Practically immediate relief of pain follows a dose of

Midol

It is equally efficacious for

HEADACHE
TOOTHACHE
NEURALGIA

—and in addition to being absolutely safe to take
—it has no undesirable after effects.

In aluminum boxes 2 sizes. At all druggists

General Drug Co.

94 N, Moore Street, New York

Commandment I

"I Am Jehovah Thy God"

Exodus, xx:2.

אנכי יהוה אלהיך

or

Jehovah is the God Americanism the Religion

Not only has science failed to curb religious fanaticism, but it has produced a fanaticism that is scientific.

Scientific fanatics call—

Jehovah.....A Savage God.
Truth distorters.....Scholars of the Bible.
Socialism.....An Ideal.
Acrobatic tricks.....Art (of Terpsichore).

And what is more, they have made a monkey out of man. Is it a wonder that we are morons?

This and similar advertisements are published in the interests of Americanism, the Religion of Mankind; or, in other words, a religion by the people and for the people.

Moses Steinberg,
713½ W. Saratoga St.,
Baltimore, Md.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED